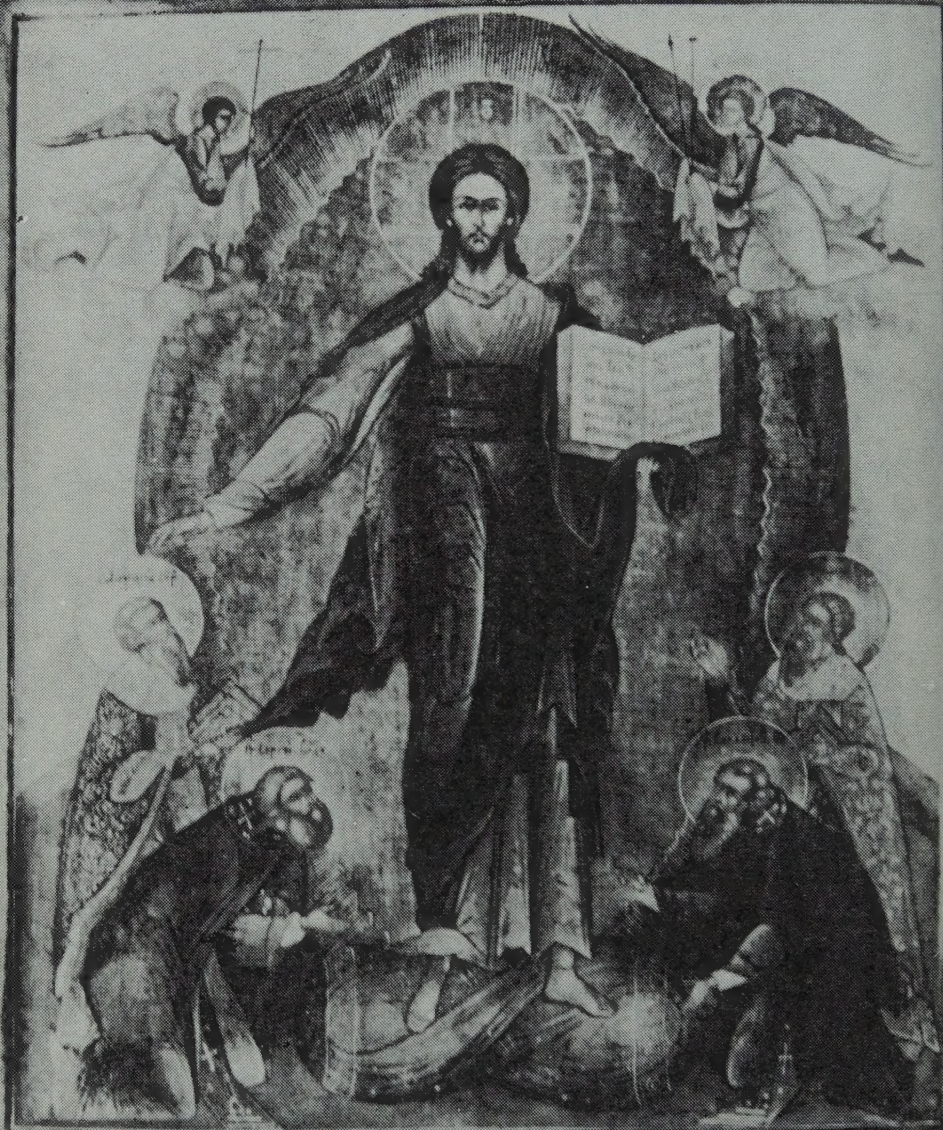




THE JOURNAL
OF THE MOSCOW
PATRIARCHATE

THE LORD PANTOCRATOR

This icon (17th century) is in the Church of the Resurrection (Voskresenie Sloveshchego) in Aksakov Lane, Moscow



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THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

No.7

УЧЕНАЯ МОСКОВСКОЙ ПАТРИАРХИИ»

Patriarch PIMEN's Visit to Finland

At the invitation of Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland, head of the Finnish Orthodox Church, His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, paid a friendly visit to the Republic of Finland from 3 to May 10, 1974. He was accompanied by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Chairman of the Holy Synod Commission on Christian Unity and Inter-Church Relations, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Kaluga, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, and other officials.

During his stay in Finland His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, visited Helsinki, Kuopio and Rovaniemi, the Novo-Valaam Monastery of the Transfiguration, the Holy Trinity Monastery in Lintula and the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Kuopio; he celebrated services in the churches of the Finnish Orthodox Church and those of Russian Patriarchal Parishes in Helsinki, had several meetings and talks with Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland, Metropolitan Ioann of Helsinki, Archbishop Dr. Martti Simojoki of Turku and Finland, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland, Dr. Oskari Nikolainen, Bishop of Helsinki, Olavi Karres, Bishop of Kuopio, Archbishop Paul Vershuren of the Roman Catholic Church and other church leaders of Finland.

The Russian Orthodox Church delegation was received by the leaders of the Ecumenical Council of Finland.

His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, read a report on "The Orthodox View on Contemporary Ecumenism" in the Joensuu University and addressed the Lutheran congregation of the Tailavahti Church in Helsinki. He also spoke on Finnish TV. Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod read a report on "The Holy Eucharist—Mystery of Church Life (Eucharist and Ecclesiology)" at the Orthodox Faculty of Helsinki University.

V. S. Stepanov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR in Finland, gave a reception in honour of His Holiness Pimen and the Russian Orthodox Church delegation in the USSR Embassy. The reception was attended by Metropolitan Ioann of Helsinki; Bishops Aimo Nikolainen and Johannes Vikström of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; Mr. Urho K. Kekkonen, President of Finland, and other religious, public and state leaders of Finland.

His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, was received by Mr. Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, President of the Republic of Finland.

During numerous meetings, receptions and talks which were held in an exceptionally fraternal and cordial atmosphere, the representatives of the Finnish and Russian Orthodox Churches were united by their common views on inter-Orthodox cooperation, the broadening of the ecumenical activity and the participation of both Churches in strengthening good-neighbourly rela-

tions between Finland and the Soviet Union.

During the meeting with Archbishop Dr. Martti Simojoki the strengthening of ties and of mutual understanding between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland was noted with satisfaction. They also noted the fruitful efforts of both Churches in strengthening friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union and in serving the cause of peace in general.

His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, conveyed to Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland, head of the Finnish Orthodox Church, an invitation to pay a return visit to the Russian Orthodox Church at his convenience. A similar invitation was conveyed to Archbishop Dr. Martti Simojoki of Turku and Finland, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. These invitations were accepted with gratitude.

On May 13 Patriarch Pimen despatched the following telegrams:

To Archbishop PAUL

Having returned home after the unforgettable visit beg Your Eminence to accept my heartfelt gratitude and that of my companions for your truly fraternal hospitality and prayers. Request you to convey our thanks to the Plenitude of the Holy Finnish Church.

Embracing Your Eminence with abundant love,

Patriarch PIMEN

To Archbishop MARTTI SIMOJOKI

Accept, Your Grace, our gratitude for love and hospitality rendered to us and our companions during our visit to Finland. We express a feeling of brotherly Christian love to you and to all our Lutheran brothers in Finland.

Patriarch PIMEN

To Mr. U. K. KEKKONEN, President of the Republic of Finland

Heartfeltly thanking Your Excellency for the attention and hospitality rendered to us and our companions.

Sincerely wishing prosperity and peace to the industrious and brotherly people of friendly Finland.

With deep respect,

Patriarch PIMEN

To Metropolitan IOANN of Helsinki

Accept, Your Eminence, since gratitude for the hospitality rendered to me and my companions and for the unforgettable days of our brotherly communion.

With love in the Lord,

Patriarch PIMEN

PATRIARCHAL AWARDS

His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, while on visit in Finland awarded with the Order of St. Vladimir, Equal to the Apostles, the following persons:

Order of the First Class:

Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, President of the Republic of Finland
Metropolitan Ioann of Helsinki

Order of the Second Class:

Professor Heikki Kirkinen, rector of the high school in Joensuu
Andrey Vasilievich Saarlo, member of the council of the Patriarchal Parish of the Intercession in Helsinki

Order of the Third Class:

Archpriest Igor Ranne, Superintendent of the Patriarchal Parishes in Finland

Viktor Riissanen, member of the Church Board of the Finnish Orthodox Church

Mrs. Maria Iltola, a notary of the Church Board of the Finnish Orthodox Church

Psalm-reader Vilho Huttu of the Orthodox parish in Kuopio

Mr. Petri Sasaki, icon-painter

Protopresbyter Aleksander Koreli, rector of the Orthodox parish in Helsinki

Archpriest Leo Merras, Superintendent of Parishes in the Helsinki Diocese

Father Mstislav Mogilyansky of the Orthodox parish in Helsinki

Protodeacon Mikael Kriisin of the Orthodox parish in Helsinki

Mauri Kononen, assessor of the Church Board of the Finnish Orthodox Church.

A MESSAGE OF GREETING

from His Holiness PIMEN, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia,
to the delegates of the Third Assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches

thers and sisters beloved in the
delegates of the Third Assembly
the All Africa Conference of Churches
it is with a feeling of great spiritual
joy at this Paschal season that I
greet all of you with our annual
Easter greeting:

CHRIST IS RISEN!

It was a great pleasure for us to
attend your Assembly, a representative
of our Russian Orthodox Church,
His Grace Nikodim, Archbishop of
Novosibirsk and Bogodukhov, whose presence
amongst you at this time will be a
witness to the fraternal love and
unity which the clergy and faithful
members of the Russian Church feel
for the Christians of Africa and
for your Churches.

On behalf of the Russian Orthodox
Church, I wish all of you in my prayers
complete success in fulfilling the
important and significant programme
of your Assembly.

As a result of this work of yours,
may the witness of your Churches to
the African peoples of our Lord Jesus
Christ grow stronger through active
love, by means of the energetic participation
of Christians in liberating
nations who are still under the colonial
yoke and experience racial oppression,
in working for progress in the life of
the nations of the independent states
of Africa, in strengthening their sovereignty
and developing fruitful cooperation
between them, and in strengthening
African unity.

We assure you of the profound sympathy
and support of the Russian Orthodox
Church for the lofty mission which the
Churches of Africa are accomplishing
in their yearning actively to help
the forces struggling against the
inhuman regimes in the South African
Republic and in Southern Rhodesia,
for the liquidation of colonialism in
the territories of Mozambique, Angola
and Guinea-Bissau, and for the liberation
of Namibia.

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We fervently wish success to the ancient and young Churches of Africa in their service to the welfare of their peoples and in their ecumenical activity. We are always ready to cooperate with you, dear brothers and sisters, and friends.

May the Lord grant you all the wisdom to follow His covenant—the covenant of life and peace (Mal. 2. 5).

May the blessing of God abide your Churches, your peoples and all of you.

With love in the Risen Christ,

PIMEN, Patriarch
of Moscow and All Russia

May 2, 1974
Moscow

A Russian Orthodox Church Delegation Visits Japan

A Russian Orthodox Church delegation visited Japan on April 21-30, 1974, at the invitation of the Primate of the Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church, His Eminence Theodosius, Archbishop of Tokyo, Metropolitan of All Japan. The delegation was headed by Archbishop Vladimir of Irkutsk and Chita and included: Bishop Chrysostom of Zaraysk, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, Archimandrite Iriney Seredny, a priest of the Patriarchal Podvorye in Tokyo, Archpriest Nikolay Gundyaev, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, and interpreter P. F. Tolkachev.

During their stay in Japan the delegation visited the Cathedral of the Resurrection "Nikorai-do" in Tokyo, as well as Orthodox churches in Maebashi, Kusatsu and Sendai. Bishop Seraphim Sigrist of Sendai met the delegation in Sendai and gave a reception in their honour. In Hakodate the delegation visited the church and the Russian cemetery and said a moleben in the local Church of the Resurrection. On Radonitsa (on the Tuesday of Easter Week) the delegation visited the cemetery in Karusawa where they conducted a panikhida for the dead. Then they visited the cities of Sapporo, Osaka and Kyoto. On Sunday, April 28, the head of the delegation, Archbishop Vladimir, and Archpriest Nikolay Gundyaev concelebrated the Liturgy with the Primate of the Autonomous Orthodox Church of Japan, Metropolitan Theodosius, at the Church of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God in Osaka. On the same day Bishop Chrysostom celebrated Divine Liturgy at the St. Nicholas Church of the Moscow Patriarchate Podvorye in Tokyo.

Archpriest Nikolay Gundyaev, dressed in Tokyo a large group of clergy and parishioners of the Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church the life and activities of the Russian Orthodox Church.

On April 29, at the "Nikora" in the residence of Metropolitan Theodosius, a big reception was held in honour of the delegation, which was attended by the clergy and laity of the Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church.

On April 30, the delegation left home by plane and arrived in Moscow the same day.

Meeting with Newsmen

On May 14, 1974, there was a meeting at the Department of External Church Relations, between Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Chairman of the Department, a group of newsmen, representing various news and press agencies of the United States of America and Great Britain. The group included: B. James (*United Press International*); Mr. R. Kaiser (*Washington Post*); Mr. M. McGuire (*Chicago Tribune*); Mr. L. Olson (*Associated Press*); C. Wren (*New York Times*); Mr. E. Stevens (*Times and News*). Those participating in the meeting were: Archbishop Pitirim of Vladimirsk, Chairman of the Public Department; Archbishop Vladimir Dmitrov, Rector of the Theological Academy and Seminary; Archpriest Matthew Stadniouk, Rector of the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Portovo, Moscow, Secretary of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia.

eksey Buyevsky, Secretary of the Department of External Church Relations.

Metropolitan Yuvenaliy and other representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church answered the foreign newsmen's questions on the present situation of the Russian Orthodox Church, relations between the Church and State in the Soviet Union, the organization of the education of priests in the Russian Orthodox Church and other topics.

CHRONICLE

On April 4, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received Rev. Robert Campbell, General Secretary of the American Baptist Churches, who was accompanied by M. Bychkov, General Secretary of the All-Union Council of the Evangelical Christian Baptists, and Father Raymond Oppenheim, an Anglican priest of the USA Embassy in Moscow. Archpriest Nikolay Gundyayev, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, was present at the reception.

The same day the leaders of the All-Union Council of the Evangelical Christian Baptists gave a reception in honour of Rev. Robert Campbell, General Secretary of the American Baptist Churches. Archpriest Nikolay Gundyayev was present at the reception.

On April 7, 1974, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, the Dean of the Moscow Patriarchate Podvorye, Archbishop Vitaliy Tarasiev, died. Telegrams of condolence were sent to Belgrade by Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, Metropolitan Nifodim of Leningrad and Novgorod and Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev.

A meeting of the CPC Subcommittee on the Middle East took place from April 23 to April 27, 1974, in Cairo, ARE, at the invitation of the Coptic Church. To represent the Russian Orthodox Church at the Subcommittee meeting there were: Archbishop Filaret of Berlin and Central Europe, Patriarchal Exarch to Central Europe, and Archbishop Feriz Berki, Dean-Administrator of the Orthodox Parishes in Hungary.

While staying in the ARE Archbishop Filaret paid a visit to His Holiness Pope and Patriarch Ananias III on April 27, and on April 28, His Eminence the Exarch visited the Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, where he was received by Bishop Ireneos of Nicopolis and Bishop Timotheos of Eleusis, for His Holiness Patriarch Nicholas VI was not there at the time to receive him.

On April 25, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received Pastor Robert Shaw of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ, USA) and his wife who were accompanied by Father Raymond Oppenheim, an Anglican priest from the USA Embassy in Moscow.

From May 4 to May 10, 1974, in Hirschbach (Storkow, near Berlin, GDR) on the initiative of pastor Dr. Dietrich Gutsch, Chairman of the Ecumenical Conference of European Youth Organizations' Leadership, a meeting took place of this Conference on "Violence and Non-Violence." Some 70 representatives from different European countries took part in this meeting. With the blessing of Archbishop Filaret of Berlin and Central Europe, the Patriarchal Exarch to Central Europe, among the participants were: Father Mikhail Turchin, Editor of the "Stimme der Orthodoxie," and Father Mikhail Dandar, Rector of St. Simeon's Church in Dresden.

On May 6, 1974, a tourist group of Roman Catholic priests from Italy, headed by His Eminence Giuseppe Cardinal Siri, Archbishop of Genoa, visited the Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra and Moscow theological schools. Archbishop Vladimir of Dmitrov, Rector of the Theological Academy and Seminary, gave a lunch in honour of the guests.

On May 14, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received Mr. J. Harry Haines, Vice-President of the National Council of Churches of Christ, Associate General Secretary of the United Methodist Committee on Relief (USA).

On May 15, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received Father Michael Tafesse of the Ethiopian Church, Rector of the Imperial Church in Addis Ababa.

On May 17, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received a group of Italian members of the Forum for Security and Cooperation in Europe that included Carlo Cardia (Communist Party), Rogero Orfen (Christian Democratic Party), Francesco Spinelli (Socialist Party).

On May 17, 1974, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, received Father Paul Verghese, Principal of the Theological Seminary of the Syrian Church of the East in Kottayam (India), and member of the CPC Working Committee.

The same day Rev. Paul Verghese was received by His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.



The 30th Anniversary of the Decease of His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy

May 15, 1974, the day of the commemoration of St. Athanasius the Great of Alexandria (in the current year it coincided with the Apodosia of Mid-Pentecost), marked the 30th anniversary of the decease of His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy.

In the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany, where the tomb of Patriarch Sergiy is preserved, this day was observed with a special prayer for the late Primate. According to the usual custom, in the morning the sacristan of the cathedral, Archpriest Nikolay Vorobiov celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Chapel of St. Nicholas (Patriarch Sergiy is buried close to its northern wall). After the Liturgy a memorial service in honour of Patriarch Sergiy was conducted as usual.

At 10 o'clock His Holiness Patriarch Pimen arrived at the Patriarchal Cathedral. A panikhida according to the Paschal order of service was conducted by His Holiness who was assisted by Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, the dean of the Patriarchal Cathedral, Protopresbyter Vitaliy Borovoy, the sacristan of the cathedral, Archpriest Nikolay Vorobiov and other members of the cathedral clergy. The panikhida was attended by numerous parishioners.

At the conclusion of the panikhida Patriarch Pimen gave an address.

The Address of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen

Today marks the 30th anniversary of the blessed decease of His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy. For 30 years now his soul abides in the other world, where, we believe, it intercedes before

the Throne of God for our Holy Church and for all our people, to whom Patriarch Sergiy was so deeply devoted and which he loved so ardently during his life on earth.

His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy was a profound ascetic. He was a genuine and pure religious zealot, who sacrilegiously observed his monastic vows. He was wise and tender, amiable and humble in his heart.

I deeply appreciate the opportunity of being able to speak about Patriarch Sergiy today, for when I held the rank of hieromonk the Lord led me to serve his colleague for a certain length of time.

Patriarch Sergiy was also a genuine patriot. He not only himself loved his native country with a lofty and holy love, but imbued us all with his sacred love and ideals of patriotic service.

The entire life of His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy was devoted to the Church. He directed all his energies to establishing Church life in the most difficult conditions, that divine service might continue to be performed in the churches and believers might achieve their spiritual salvation in the Church.

Salvation and eternal life were the main object of his theological activity, of his innermost thoughts, of his very life. He prayed for this both in the silence of his monastic cell when he was conducting funeral services in churches, including the splendid cathedral, where his virtuous body lies at peace in its tomb. His services were outstanding in their deep profundity and spiritual transcendence.

And this is why we believe that the Lord has accepted his immortal

re soul into His heavenly domain and permitted him to stand before the throne of God in prayer for our Holy Church, for his spiritual children left on earth and for his and our common earthly abode. Amen.

His Holiness Patriarch Pimen and Archbishop Pitirim bowed before the grave of Patriarch Sergiy and then

paid homage to the relics of St. Alexius of Moscow and to the venerated Kazan icon of the Mother of God.

A moleben for the repose of Patriarch Sergiy's soul was conducted on the same day in all cloisters and in the churches of the theological schools and in all the dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Visit of Anba Gregorios, Bishop of Cairo

The Bishop of Cairo, Anba Gregorios of the Coptic Church (in the Arab Republic of Egypt) was in the Soviet Union from February 1 to March 5, 1974.

Anba Gregorios is the auxiliary bishop and closest assistant of His Holiness Shenuda III, the Coptic Pope and Patriarch. Head of the Church Institute of Higher Theological Education, Coptic Culture and Scientific Research, Anba Gregorios is an Honorary Bachelor of Theology, an Honorary Bachelor of Arts, an honorary holder of the Egyptian Diploma of Architecture and a Doctor of Philosophy. He wrote his doctoral thesis in Manchester, England, in 1951-53 on the topic "Greek Words in the Coptic Language." His supervisor was the well known Coptic scholar, Walter Till, who is Austrian by birth.

This was Anba Gregorios's second visit to the Soviet Union. He first came to our country in 1972 when he accompanied Pope Shenuda III on his official visit as a guest of the Russian Orthodox Church. Anba Gregorios has mentioned on numerous occasions that Pope Shenuda III often recalls his trip to the Soviet Union with gratitude for the kind attention and cordial hospitality which he was accorded. v. on the Coptic Pope and Patriarch Shenuda III, *JMP*, 1972, No. 3; his visit to our country—*JMP*, 1973, No. 1; for an article on the Coptic Church, *JMP*, 1972, No. 12).

Anba Gregorios came to Moscow on the invitation of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, along with whom he had participated in the jubilee session of the World Peace Council in Sofia,



**Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev
with Anba Gregorios, Bishop of Cairo**

where Anba Gregorios represented the Coptic Church and the Egyptian Peace Council. On his arrival in Moscow Bishop Gregorios was met by one of the staff of the Moscow Patriarchate's Department of External Church Relations, Hegumen Innokentiy Kishkin. While he was in Moscow Anba Gregorios stayed at the Rossiya Hotel.

On Saturday February 23 Bishop Gregorios attended services in the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany—in the morning, and in the Church of the Dormition in Novodevichy Monastery—in the evening. He also visited the Trinity Church (known as St. Pimen's). During the day he went to the Mausoleum of V. I. Lenin and viewed the Cosmos Pavilion at the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements. On Sunday February 24 he at-

tended the Divine Liturgy celebrated by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen in the Patriarchal Cathedral. On the same day His Holiness Patriarch Pimen gave a dinner in honour of Bishop Gregorios.

Anba Gregorios spent February 26 and 27 in Leningrad, where he visited the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in the Lavra of St. Alexander Nevsky, the St. Nicholas Cathedral of the Epiphany, the churches of the Transfiguration and St. Vladimir, the Church of St. John the Divine in the Leningrad Theological Academy, the so-called *Kulich and Paskha* Church, and the Serafimovskoe and Piskariovskoe memorial cemeteries. At the Piskariovskoe Cemetery Anba Gregorios stood in prayerful silence by the graves and then said, "It was a great tragedy. We must strive to ensure that there are no more wars." Anba Gregorios attended divine services in a number of churches. On February 27 he worshipped in the St. Nicholas Cathedral of the Epiphany at Divine Liturgy celebrated by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod. After the Liturgy Metropolitan Nikodim and Anba Gregorios blessed the believers together. The two hierarchs then went on to the private chambers of the metropolitan, where the latter offered Anba Gregorios a Lenten repast. During this meeting which was held in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere Metropolitan Nikodim and Anba Gregorios exchanged views on the further development of fraternal contacts between the Coptic and Russian Churches.

On February 28 Anba Gregorios had a look around Pskov and visited the Pushkin Hills. The following day—March 1—he spent at the Pskov-Pechory Monastery, where he visited the ancient caves and worshipped at Divine Liturgy conducted by Metropolitan Ioann of Pskov and Porkhov assisted by the brethren of the monastery. Bishop Gregorios was invited to the monastery refectory by His Eminence Ioann. On his return to Pskov Bishop Gregorios was received by Metropolitan Ioann at his residence, and visited the Trinity Cathedral and the Church of the Protecting Veil "on the Pro-

On March 3 Anba Gregorios spent the day in Kiev. He worshipped at Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral of St. Vladimir and then went on to a dinner given in his honour by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, Exarch for the Ukraine. In reply to the metropolitan's welcome, Bishop Gregorios said that he "was glad to work alongside Russian believers. The Coptic and Russian Churches are very close to each other in a lot of things and I do not simply feel at home here, I am at home." In the city itself Bishop Gregorios visited the Convent of the Protecting Veil and the Kiev-Pechory Lavra.

On March 4 Bishop Gregorios was received in Moscow by the Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev. On the same day he was also received by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen.

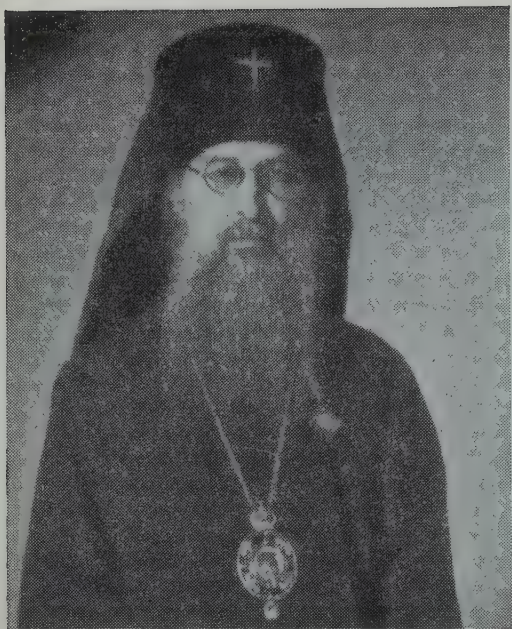
On the following day, March 5, Bishop Gregorios left for home. He was seen off at the airport by Bishop Chrysostom of Zaraysk, the Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations, and those senior members of the Department who accompanied Bishop Gregorios during his travels through our country, Hierarchs Innokentiy and Sergey Gordienko.

Anba Gregorios said that before he came to the Soviet Union he had heard much and read a great deal about our country and about the Russian Orthodox Church, but what he had seen with his own eyes—the deep faith and piety of the clergy and believers of the Russian Orthodox Church—had surpassed his expectations. He had been convinced of how close the Coptic and Russian Churches really were to each other. In his opinion there were no dividing factors and he was sure that unity between these two Churches could come about in the near future. At his reception by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen Anba Gregorios emphasized that the Russian Orthodox Church is making a unique contribution to the cause of establishing peace and unity. She possesses the necessary enthusiasm and opportunities for this, as well as the keenness and willingness. The people of Egypt, Anba



**The Kiev-Pechory Icon of the Mother of God with St. Anthony
and St. Theodosius of the Caves, Miracle Workers**

(This year marks the 900th anniversary of St. Theodosius' departure to the Lord)



**Archbishop Mikhail of Vologda
and Veliki Ustyug**

1972 he has administered the Diocese of Vologda.

In the course of fulfilling various duties entrusted to him by the Church authorities, Archbishop Mikhail has been a member of a number of Russian Orthodox Church commissions and delegations, taken part in many conferences and conventions, and visited various cities in Bulgaria, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, West Berlin, Holland, England, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Sweden. At the present time Archbishop Mikhail is a member of the Holy Synod Commission on Christian Unity and Inter-Church Relations and belongs to the editorial board of the periodical issue *Theological Studies*. He has been awarded the Order of St. Prince Vladimir, Equal to the Apostles (Second Class) and the Alexandrian Orthodox Church Order of the Apostle and Evangelist St. Mark (Second Class). He is also the holder of a number of government awards — the medal “For Victory over Germany in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945,” the medal “For Valiant Labour in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945,” and the jubilee medal “Twenty Years After Victory in the Great Patriotic War.”

For over 20 years His Eminence Mikhail has been contributing to various organs of the Church press — *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, *Theological Studies*, *Stimme der Orthodoxie*, and *Herald of the Russian European Patriarchal Exarchate*. He has published a large number of articles on theology, Church history, Church archaeology and biography as well as reports and reviews of published works. Archbishop Mikhail's articles on St. Methodius the Martyr include: 1) “Agrapha in the Works of St. Methodius” (*JMP*, 1954, No. 6); 2) “Extracts from the Slavonic Collection of Works of St. Methodius the Martyr” (*Theological Studies*, 1961, Collection No. 2); 3) “The Dialogue of St. Methodius the Martyr ‘On Free-Will...’” (*Theological Studies*, 1964, Collection No. 3); 4) “St. Methodius the Martyr and His Theology” (*Theological Studies*, 1973, Collection No. 10). Apart from this, several sermons by Archbishop Mikhail have been published in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* and *Stimme der Orthodoxie*. His paper “The Significance of the Re-establishment of the Patriarch in the Russian Orthodox Church” (*JMP*, 1958, No. 6) was translated into German with certain additions and published in an anthology issued by the Christian Democratic Union of Germany under the title “A Turning Point in the History of Mankind” (Berlin, 1958). His article “The Forty Gospels of 891” was likewise published in a German translation — in the Communications of the A. Humboldt Academy of Science of Berlin.

The Rector Bishop Meliton yielded the floor to Archbishop Mikhail who spoke of his research in the following terms: “Those works of St. Methodius the Martyr † A.D. 311) which have come down to us are devoted to defending the purity of the faith and the traditional doctrine of the Church against various distortions and to elucidating positive Christian ideals... Modern patrology, far from denying the apocryphic value of St. Methodius's works, attaches extreme importance to his apocryphics and ecclesiology. The Slavonic translation of the works of St. Methodius, which only became available to patrologists comparatively recently

as helped to solve many problems connected with the study of these works." Noting that our information on the life of St. Methodius was exceedingly scanty, the author continued, St. Methodius saw the basic task of his life in teaching on behalf of the Church, in preaching the Christian faith and defending it against false doctrine. He strove to provide answers to various questions of spiritual life, at the same time taking into consideration the complexity of the milieu around him. In his theological activity he proceeded from the Holy Scriptures and Church Tradition, using ancient philosophy and literature as an instrument of thought. His works are marked by an intense enthusiasm for faith, concern for the purity of the highest Christian ideals, and the wrathful exposure of the vices which had permeated the Church society of his times."

Not all the works of St. Methodius have survived up to the present day. Parts of those which exist in the Greek original are to be found in a 10th-century Slavonic translation. The Greek manuscripts containing the texts written by St. Methodius date back to the 10th-17th centuries and are kept in

various libraries of the world. The Slavonic translation made in the 10th century is preserved in a number of manuscripts which date back to the 16th and 17th centuries. Some of the works of St. Methodius now exist only in the Slavonic translation, while in the case of such works as "On Free-Will," "On the Resurrection," etc. the Slavonic manuscripts provide a much fuller text than the extant Greek fragments.

The written heritage of St. Methodius the Martyr comprises the following works: "On Free-Will," "On the Resurrection," "On Life and Rational Activity," "On Discrimination in Visions," "On Leprosy," "On the Leech," "On the Words 'The Heavens proclaim the glory of God,'" "On the Creation," "Against Porphyry," "On Martyrs," "The Symposium, or Banquet of the Ten Virgins," "On the Enchantress of Aendorf," "On the Body" and "An Interpretation of the Book of Job." In the case of some works all that remain are short extracts, fragments of mere indications of authorship. The text of "The Symposium, or Banquet of Ten Virgins" however, has survived in full. The basis of this dialogue, which is a formal literary antithesis of Plato's "Symposium" and rings forth in rap-



Discussing Archbishop Mikhail's thesis on March 9, 1974

turous praise of maidenhood, is a set of precepts on the truths of faith, the norms of Christian life, attitudes to various false doctrines and methods of interpreting the Holy Scriptures.

In his works St. Methodius the Martyr writes about God and the world, about the Church, about Christian salvation and Christian perfection, about the resurrection of the dead and eternal life. In other words he examines questions of a dogmatic, moral, apologetic, ascetic, ecclesiological and patristic character. The writings of St. Methodius testify to his acquaintance with the Greek philosophy, logic and dialectics of Aristotle. St. Methodius the Martyr was an outstanding personality of the Christian Church during the last quarter of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century. The theological heritage of this period serves as a valuable literary monument reflecting many features of Church self-awareness typical of the last decades of the pre-Nicene era.

The official opponents at the debate gave a high appraisal of Archbishop Mikhail's dissertation. The first opponent Professor Archpriest Liveryi Voronov said, "His Grace the author of this dissertation has translated a considerable portion of the Slavonic manuscript text of St. Methodius's work into Russian and published it (see *Theological Studies* collection Nos. 2 and 3—V. B.). Carefully collected and systematically laid out, this material gives a general picture of St. Methodius's theology that is both clear and complete." Archpriest L. Voronov concluded his address with the following words: "The dissertation of His Grace Archbishop Mikhail constitutes an extremely valuable contribution to Russian patrology. It contains a mass of information which has been acquired both by thorough study of the pertinent sources — some of them difficult of access — and auxiliary literature, and as a result of many years of reflection on the data extracted from them. This work will serve as a splendid guide for anyone desirous of continuing the study of the writings and theology of St. Methodius or of undertaking general work in the field of research devoted to the pre-Nicene era and its

theology. Taking into consideration that has been said I put it to you that His Grace the examinee is fully worthy of the degree of Magister of Theology which he seeks."

In summing up his own address the second opponent, Archpriest Docent Siliy Stoykov declared: "In evaluating this dissertation as a whole it must be said, in addition to what has already been mentioned about its merits, that patrological scholarship in our country has been enriched by an exceedingly useful work. It makes use of all extant works of St. Methodius and most all the modern literature in foreign languages (German, French and others), a considerable amount of which belongs to the period 1917-1963. This means that the author has summed up the work done by modern scholars and that his dissertation contains all available information on St. Methodius and his works which has been made available to modern patrological scholarship. Anyone who uses this monograph will find it a reliable guide to his work... His Grace the author undoubtedly deserves to have the degree of Magister of Theology conferred upon him."

The opponents put a number of questions to the examinee who gave exhaustive replies and concurred with some of their comments.

The debate concluded with a vote. The members of the Academy Council unanimously voted that the degree of Magister of Theology be conferred upon Archbishop Mikhail.

Addressing all those present in the Assembly Hall Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, an honorary member of the Leningrad Theological Academy said: "Today's occasion awakens memories of the distant past when the archbishop was a teacher at the Leningrad Theological Academy. He was my examiner on numerous occasions, and here today we see him successfully he has defended his own work. As an honorary member of the academy I took part in the voting and by my own vote in favour of the award of the degree can be considered a confirmation of the Council's decision. The resolution of the Council is also confirmed by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen

I am glad to be able to invest the archbishop with the magisterial cross—the symbol of magisterial distinction.”

In the address of thanks Archbishop Mikhail of Vologda and Veliki Ustyug expressed his gratitude to Metropolitan Nikodim, his opponents and the mem-

bers of the Academy Council for their unanimous appraisal of his work. This new work—the product of 20 years' earnest theological work—will occupy a worthy place in the library of the Leningrad Theological Academy.

VLADIMIR BRONSKY, lecturer
at the Leningrad Theological Academy

NEWS OF THE DIOCESES

The Diocese of Volyn. On July 21, 1973, the feast of the Korets grace-giving Icon of the Mother of God “Warrantress of the Sinful,” Archbishop Damian of Volyn and Rovno celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Convent of the Holy Trinity in the town of Korets. His Grace was given a solemn welcome at 10 a.m. On the porch of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity the Mother Superior of the convent, Abbess Natalia Ilchuk cordially wished him joy of the feast and thanked him for his fatherly love and unfailing care for the cloister. To the singing of the convent choir the archbishop proceeded into the packed cathedral and was greeted inside by Archpriest Trofim Shepsheley of the convent clergy. As the festal troparion was sung he kissed the grace-giving icon “Warrantress of the Sinful.” In celebrating the Liturgy His Grace was assisted by the convent clergy and those who had come for the feast. At the Lesser Entrance the archbishop bestowed patriarchal awards upon several priests. The two convent choirs sang harmoniously and devoutly. After the Communion Verse His Grace delivered an exhortation on the theme “Rejoice, O Warrantress of the Sinful, stretching Thy hands to God as a warrant for us” (from the akathistos to the icon). Archbishop Damian spoke of the Mother of God’s love for each one of us. After the Liturgy the moleben was said and the church and worshippers asperged with holy water. When “Many Years” had been sung His Grace congratulated Abbess Natalia, the nuns, the clergy and pilgrims on the feast and called down God’s blessing upon them.

On August 28, the Feast of the Dormition, the Korets convent celebrated the patronal feast in the Dormition Chapel of its Holy Trinity church. A festal divine service began on the eve with Small Vespers conducted in the Chapel of the Dormition. After the “Nunc dimittis...” our priests bore the Holy Shroud out through the Holy Doors and laid it in the centre of the church to the singing of the festal troparion.

An assembly of the clergy assisted by the two choirs sang the Akathistos to the Dormition of the Mother of God. With the blessing of Archbishop Damian, the Vigil service at 5 p. m. was conducted by Archpriest Yaroslav Antonyuk, Dean Superintendent of the Korets Church District. The solemn Office of the Burial of the Holy Shroud was performed after “God our Lord...” during the Matins. The All-Night Vigil was resumed after the Office.

On the day of the feast Divine Liturgy was celebrated by Archbishop Damian who had been warmly greeted by Abbess Natalia at the entrance to the church. His Grace was assisted by an assembly of the clergy who had arrived for the feast. The archbishop preached to a large congregation on the theme of the feast. During the moleben which concluded the celebration His Grace asperged the church and pilgrims with holy water.

On September 8, the Feast of Sts. Adrian and Natalia the Martyrs, Abbess Natalia’s name day was celebrated in the Korets convent. On the eve, All-Night Vigil was conducted by the convent and town clergy. On the feast, before the Divine Liturgy started, Archbishop Damian arrived at the cathedral porch where he was greeted by Abbess Natalia. With his blessing, Archpriest Grigoriy Korshun, Superintendent Dean of the Rovno Church District, officiated at the Divine Liturgy assisted by the convent clergy and those priests who had come for the feast. At the Lesser Entrance Archbishop Damian, vested in a mantle, bestowed upon Abbess Natalia an ornamented cross—a patriarchal award. After a festal moleben His Grace congratulated Abbess Natalia on her name day and on the honour she had received, wished her good health and God’s help in her work for the glory of God and the good of the holy convent. She thanked the archbishop and asked him to convey to His Holiness the Patriarch her filial gratitude for his attention. According to the custom of the convent, the sisters came



Archbishop Damian bestowing upon Abbess Natalia a patriarchal award on September 8, 1973

to congratulate Mother Natalia on her name day in her cell.

The Diocese of Kishinev. Apart from conducting routine divine services in the Kishinev cathedral, Archbishop Ionafan of Kishinev and Moldavia officiated at divine services in many other churches of the capital and province.

On February 4, 1973, the 36th Sunday after Pentecost, His Grace celebrated Divine Liturgy in the majestic Church of the Transfiguration in Bendery. The archbishop preached the sermon and invoked God's blessing upon the congregation at the end of the service.

On April 29, 1973, Holy Easter, Archbishop Ionafan ordained Father Pyotr Buburuza of the cathedral clergy archpriest during Divine Liturgy in the Kishinev cathedral. Father Pyotr Buburuza had been honoured by Patriarch Pimen on this Paschal occasion. That same day, at Easter Vespers in the cathedral, His Grace also bestowed a patriarchal award—pectoral cross—on Father Ioann Rotar, rector of the Holy Trinity Church in the village of Mikleusheny. On April 30, Easter Monday, Archbishop Ionafan officiated at Divine Liturgy in the Kishinev Church of the Ascension. After the Liturgy there was a Paschal procession round the church with a reading from the appointed Gospel and the singing of the Paschal Canon. His Grace Ionafan blessed the worshippers and thanked parishioners for their care of the church and the radical repairs made to the interior of the church.

On June 3, the Sunday of the Man Blind from Birth, the 6th after Easter, Archbishop Ionafan celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Kausshany Church of Sts. Peter and Paul and, with the Patriarch's blessing, ordained the rector,

Father Grigoriy Motruk, archpriest. His Grace addressed the worshippers and congratulated the rector of the church on the high patriarchal award. Then the archbishop said a panikhida for the late Father Vasilii Stegaresko of the church. On June 7, the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Kishinev Church of the Ascension Archbishop Ionafan conducted Divine Liturgy, said a festal moleben at which "Many Years" was sung and preached on the theme of the feast. On June 18, the Feast of the Holy Spirit, His Grace Ionafan officiated at Divine Liturgy and delivered an exhortation in the Kishinev Church of the Holy Trinity.

From June 20 to 25, Archbishop Ionafan stayed in the Zhabsky Convent. On June 24, the 1st Sunday after Pentecost, All Saints' Day, he celebrated Divine Liturgy and addressed the nuns with an exhortation in the convent church of the Ascension. His Grace was shown round the convent and asked questions about the life of the religious; he spoke to the nuns on the meaning of their life and their duties, the necessity of zealously fulfilling their obediences and praying unceasingly. The archbishop inspected cells, other buildings and facilities of the convent and gave Abbess Serafima, Mother Superior, and the nuns his instructions.

On July 12, the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, Archbishop Ionafan celebrated Divine Liturgy and said a festal moleben in the Kishinev Church of the Ascension. He congratulated the rector of the church, Archpriest Pavel Stasenko on his name day and thanked him for his service in his ministry and in fulfilling his obediential duties as secretary of the Diocesan Board—the first assistant of the ruling hierarch. His Grace spoke of Father Pavel's successful performance of his obediences in the external activity of the Russian Orthodox Church assigned to him by her Supreme Authority. On July 15, the 3rd Sunday after Pentecost, His Grace Ionafan officiated at the Divine Liturgy and preached a sermon in the Kishinev Church of All Saints. On July 22 the 5th Sunday after Pentecost, Archbishop Ionafan blessed the church (that had just undergone extensive repairs) in honour of Basil the Great in the town of Edintsy and then conducted Divine Liturgy and a moleben. After the singing of "Many Years" His Grace greeted the worshippers and thanked them for their care for the decoration of the church. He particularly stressed the zealous labours of the rector of the church, Father Vasilii Sobchuk.

On August 12, the 8th Sunday after Pentecost, Archbishop Ionafan celebrated Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, All-Night Vigil in the Holy Trinity Church in the village of Kangaz.

church is kept in excellent order. On the eve of the feast His Grace was solemnly greeted by the rector of the church, Hegumen Veniamin Ossu, and by members of the church council. During the Liturgy the archbishop ordained deacon Vasilii Chuntu presbyter to serve in the church in the village of Selemet. After a moleben His Grace delivered an exhortation to the believers.

The Diocese of Mukachevo. On December 19, 1973, the old Mukachevo Convent of St. Nicholas celebrated its patronal feast—the Feast of St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker, Archbishop of Myra in Lycia. During the summer radical repairs were put to the ancient church and cells of the convent—monuments of the baroque architecture of the 18th century. Archbishop Grigoriy of Mukachevo and Uzhgorod who arrived at the convent for the feast was met at the entrance with “Gloria” by Abbess Afanasia Kurgyak, the Mother Superior, and a convent choir singing the festal troparion. Inside the church His Grace was cordially greeted by Arhimandrite Vasilii Pronin, the priest of the convent. At the Liturgy the archpastor ordained deacon Pyotr Feniov presbyter. Many pilgrims, among whom there were many who had made their way to the convent from snow-bound villages in the mountains, received Holy Communion. After the Communion Verse the entire congregation sang a popular hymn well known in Transcarpathia and dedicated to St. Nicholas: “O all you who love Nicholas...”. At the end of the Liturgy His Grace addressed pilgrims and nuns with an exhortation. In his sermon the archbishop spoke of St. Nicholas as an example of piety, humility and steadfastness in the faith. St. Nicholas, whose images are to be found in many Orthodox homes received a special gift from God—that of performing miracles. But our feasts in his honour and our prayers will please him only if we strive to acquire his virtues and implement them in our lives.

After a moleben before the icon of St. Nicholas and the singing of “Many Years”, worshippers were anointed with holy chrism according to tradition. The choir sang “Praises” to St. Nicholas and “Many Years” to Patriarch Pimen.

The Diocese of Odessa. On September 22, 1973, the eve of the 14th Sunday after Pentecost, before the Exaltation of the Cross, Metropolitan Sergiy of Kherson and Odessa visited the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in the town of Bolgrad. His Eminence blessed the rector of the church, Archpriest Nikolay Tikhonov, members of the church council and all the

others who had met him and went to the village of Tatarbunary, where repairs to the church had recently been completed. This one-altar Church of the Dormition was built in 1877 in



Singing “Gloria” in the Mukachevo convent, December 19, 1973 (above). Archbishop Grigoriy conducting a festal moleben (below)

the form of a cross with a big onion dome. In 1973, thanks to the efforts of the parishioners, the church was extensively repaired and redecorated inside and outside, and new frescoes painted on its walls. The metropolitan was greeted by the rector of the church, Archpriest Mikhail Pritulenko and members of the church council. In his turn, His Eminence thanked members of the church council and all those who had participated in beautifying their church, invoked God's blessing upon them all and praised the zealous ministry of the rector. Then he blessed the church, conducted All-Night Vigil and delivered a sermon.

On the next day, September 23, the metropolitan officiated at Divine Liturgy in the Church of St. Michael the Archangel in the village of Novoselovka. This church, built in 1913, was decorated in 1936, its murals and ornaments are well preserved. His Eminence was given a ceremonial welcome by the rector of the church, Archpriest Georgiy Chibrik and members of the church council. The village is populated mainly by Moldavians and for that reason many liturgical hymns were sung in Moldavian. The metropolitan addressed the worshippers with an exhortation and blessed them.

On November 20, the eve of the Synaxis of St. Michael the Archangel, His Eminence Sergiy officiated at All-Night Vigil in the majestic Cathedral of the Holy Spirit in Kherson, the right altar of which is dedicated to St. Michael. The metropolitan was ceremonially greeted by the rector, Archpriest Vsevolod Strashevsky, cathedral clergy, members of the church council and parishioners. The choir, directed by the precentor, Z. Ponomar, sang harmoniously and devoutly. After the Gospel reading His Eminence anointed the worshippers with holy chrism and delivered a sermon at the end of the All-Night Vigil. On the feast, in this same cathedral, the metropolitan celebrated Divine Liturgy and said a festal moleben. After the singing of "Many Years" he preached on the theme of the feast and invoked God's blessing upon the believers.

The Diocese of Yaroslavl. On November 20, 1973, the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost, His Eminence celebrated Divine Liturgy at which he ordained Deacon Boris Gerasimov prior. Father Boris is to serve in the Church of the Transfiguration in the village of Povodno. In his exhortation addressed to the new priest, the metropolitan stressed the great responsibilities of the Christian ministry.



Metropolitan Sergiy conducting the Blessing of the Waters at the Dormition Church in the settlement of Tatarbunary, Odessa Diocese

On November 26, the Feast of St. John Chrysostom, the name day of Metropolitan Ioann, the clergy and numerous believers of Yaroslavl gathered to the cathedral to pray together with their pastor and to wish him many years of his fruitful ministry in the ancient See of Yaroslavl. The metropolitan choir sang devoutly, conducted by the precentor, T. Dzichkovskaya. At the Divine Liturgy His Eminence ordained the cathedral lector Aleksandr Krylov deacon. After a festal moleben and "Many prayers" Metropolitan Ioann received the felicitations of the rector of the cathedral, Archpriest Boris Stark, the secretary of the Diocesan Board, Archpriest Georgiy Klyushnikov, and other representatives of the clergy and laity.

On December 23, the 27th Sunday after Pentecost, at the Divine Liturgy His Eminence ordained reader Georgiy Gribin deacon and, on December 30, 28th Sunday after Pentecost, priest.

On March 20, 1974, the Wednesday of the 4th week in Lent, the Feast of the Icon of the Mother of God "Warrantress of the Sinful," Metropolitan Ioann celebrated the Liturgy of the Presanctified in the Church of the Holy Trinity in the village of Pakhna. With the Patriarch's blessing His Eminence, at the Liturgy, elevated the rector, Father Mikhail Masnotsvetov, to the rank of archpriest. On March 27, the Wednesday of the 5th week in Lent, the Feast of the Feodor Icon of the Mother of God, during the Liturgy in the Yaroslavl Cathedral, Metropolitan Ioann elevated Father Vladimir Sachivko, rector of the St. Nicholas Church in Rostov, to the rank of archpriest, and bestowed pectoral crosses on Father Evgeniy Dzichkovsky, clerk to the Yaroslavl Diocesan Board, on the rector of Holy Trinity Church in the settlement of Tolgobol, and on the monk Venedikt Vorobyov, the rector of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in the village of Davydovo. These were all patriarchal wards. On March 31, the 5th Sunday in Lent, at the Divine Liturgy in the cathedral, His Eminence ordained Subdeacon Georgiy Bobrov deacon.

On April 7, the 6th Sunday in Lent, Palm Sunday, the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem and the Feast of the Annunciation, His Eminence Metropolitan Ioann celebrated Divine Liturgy which was attended by a large group of Catholic students (the majority of whom were in holy orders) from various countries headed by Father Robert Bosk, Professor of Sociology at the Sorbonne. At the Divine Liturgy His Eminence ordained Deacon Georgiy Bobrov priest. After divine service Metropolitan Ioann received the guests in his residence.

On April 16, Easter Tuesday, Metropolitan Ioann celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Trinity in the settlement of Tolgobol and awarded the oldest precentor of the diocese, A. I. Sharapov, a Pontifical Certificate of Honour.

On April 19, Easter Friday, the Feast of the Icon of the Mother of God "The Life-Bearing Source," His Eminence celebrated Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, conducted All-Night Vigil in the Yaroslavl Church of the Cross and the Mother of God. He was given a ceremonial welcome by the clergy, members of the church council and numerous worshippers. At the Liturgy the metropolitan preached a sermon (see our section "Sermons"). His Eminence awarded Pontifical Certificates of Honour to the rector, Archpriest Georgiy Klyushnikov, psalm-reader A. F. Zakharov and server P. G. Gvozdev. After blessing the congregation Metropolitan Ioann left the church to the paschal peal of bells.

On May 5, the 4th Sunday after Easter, the Sunday of the Man with the Infirmary at Bethesda, His Eminence arrived at the Church of the Protecting Veil in Pereyasavl-Zalessky and awarded Archpriest Ioann Belyakov, the Rector of the church and Superintendent Dean of the Pereyasavl Church District, a Pontifical Certificate. Father Ioann was a member of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1971 on behalf of the clergy of the Yaroslavl Diocese.



Mother Superior RAFAILA PEVITSKAYA

—IN MEMORIAM—

...The Convent of the Protecting Veil in Kiev. In the modest cell of the Mother Superior the clock chimed midnight. Mother Rafaila took two deep breaths and passed into eternal life. The Lord favoured her with that good and peaceful end for which the Holy Church prays:

"For a Christian end of our life, painless, peaceful and unashamed, and for a good answer before the dreadful judgment seat of Christ, we beseech Thee."

Mother Rafaila (in the world Raisa Stepanovna Pevitskaya), Mother Superior of the Convent of the Protecting Veil, came from Kiev. She was born in 1891 in the family of an official of the Post and Telegraph Department. On 1910 she graduated from the Kiev Fundukleyev School for Girls with a silver medal. She worked at the central post and telegraph office of the City of Kiev. But love for the religious life born in childhood brought her to the convent. In 1912 she began her novitiate at the Convent of the Protecting Veil as an obedi-entary clerk. In 1930 she took the veil with the name of Rafaila. For a short period she worked in lay civil institutions. Beginning from 1942 she remained in the Convent of the Protecting Veil as obedi-entary secretary. For taking an active part in the restoration of the convent Cathedral in honour of St. Nicholas and of the convent itself in 1951 she was awarded the pectoral cross by His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy.

From 1955 Mother Rafaila was appointed treasurer of the convent. On June 14, 1957 Metropolitan Ioann of Kiev and Galich, the Exarch to the Ukraine, appointed her Mother Superior of the Convent of the Protecting Veil with the rank of hegumenia. In 1958 Mother Rafaila for diligent discharge of the obedience laid on her by His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy was honoured with the award of a decorated cross. On December 20, 1972, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen granted her the honour of wearing a Patriarchal cross.

On February 27, 1974, the first week of Lent, Mother Rafaila fell ill. On Friday, March 1, in the evening she asked for the Sacrament of Holy Unction which was administered by the senior priest of the cloister, Archpriest Timofey Shaydurov. Beginning from this day the Mother Superior received Holy Communion every morning.

On Sunday, March 10, she received her last Holy Communion. On that very day the priests and sisters of the convent visited Mother Rafaila and she blessed them all with a small icon. And after midnight her life flickered out like a burnt down candle.

Mother Superior Rafaila devoted herself completely to zealous service. Within the framework of the monastic life, during her 17-year term as Mother Superior she did much for the welfare of the cloister. Under her leadership and with the help of the sisters the convent buildings were repeatedly repaired. She actively directed the spiritual and economic life of her cloister, taught the sisters the love of church, strict observance of the rule and true obedience. Her attitude to the sisters was permeated with great joy and deep love. She



would advise and care for them with truly maternal solicitude and was always ready to help them in any trouble. The nobility of her soul and her cultivated mind was felt in every small detail. She was distinguished by a great sense of justice, love of people and sense of religious duty. Her modesty and gentleness of her soul attracted only those under obedience at the convent but not those who met her but once in their life. Until the last moment Mother Superior Rafaila preserved her enthusiasm of spirit together with a lively mind and indefatigable diligence. The words of the Holy Scriptures **Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; their works do follow them** (Rev. 14.13) can be applied to her.

After robing Mother Rafaila's body in her habit at 3 a. m. a first panikhida was sung by the mortal remains. At 10 a. m. after the end of the convent service the convent clergy said a panikhida by the coffin during which the sisters of the cloister prayed. The convent choir sang in a touching and sad way. The coffin was lifted with the sisters and to the sound of the funeral march and the singing of the Trisagion they bore it to the convent Cathedral of St. Nicholas where there was a large congregation. A panikhida was said at the cathedral by the convent clergy. At 12 noon the funeral service was conducted by the clergy of the Kiev Convent of St. Florus. A choir of nuns from the Convent of St. Florus sang.

On the same day at the end of the evening service Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and G

ch to the Ukraine, came and conducted a pa-
ida.

connection with the passing of Mother Rafaila
Holiness Patriarch Pimen sent a cable to the
ster: "May the memory of the late Mother Ra-
live for ever. May her soul find a place in
mansions of the Lord. I condole with the sis-
in their loss and send them my blessing. Pat-
ch Pimen." Cables from many persons who
w the departed Mother Rafaila were received.
n the eve of the interment on Tuesday, March
Metropolitan Filaret officiated at a paras-
before a large congregation of believers. Then
the coffin of the deceased panikhidas were
and the Psalter was read continuously.

on Wednesday, the third week of Lent, on
ch 12, in the St. Nicholas Cathedral of the
vent of the Protecting Veil Metropolitan Fi-
st held the Liturgy of the Presanctified. His
nence the Metropolitan held the funeral ser-
for Mother Rafaila together with Bishop Var-
n of Pereyaslav-Khmel'nitsky, the clergy of the
vent of the Protecting Veil and clerics from
parishes of Kiev and priests from the Kiev
cese who came to attend the funeral service.
cathedral was packed. Two nuns' choirs sang
funereal solemnity. The clergy and all the
shippers stood holding lighted candles.

efore the funeral service Metropolitan Filaret
d a funeral oration that moved the hearts of
nuns and those of the believers by its sincerity.
He recalled the radiant personality of the de-
ted with striking vividness. Expressing the com-
grief at the passing of this much-loved Moth-

er Superior. His Eminence called upon the nuns
of her convent and all the worshippers to pray di-
ligently for the repose of her soul.

After the singing of the Kontakion "Give rest
with the Saints..." Archpriest Timofey Shaydurov
delivered a funeral oration.

Sad were the moments of the nuns' last
farewell to their departed Mother Su-
perior. After the singing of "Eternal Memory" the
coffin raised by the clergy was carried round the
church. Metropolitan Filaret and Bishop Varlaam
with the clergy and a great number of the faithful
followed the coffin. After bearing the coffin round
the cathedral it was brought in again for the laity
to take a last farewell of Mother Rafaila. Then to
the sound of the funeral knell and the singing of
memorial prayers the priests, nuns and other be-
lievers carried the coffin up to the Holy Gates of
the cloister.

Mother Rafaila was buried at the Svyatoshin-
skoye Cemetery in Kiev amidst the graves of de-
parted sisters and priests of the Convent of Pro-
tecting Veil. At the graveside a lity for the repose
of her soul was said by the clerics who
followed the coffin. At the head of the grave a
large white cross was erected and a burning icon
lamp was put on the grave mound.

Even as the clergy of the cloister, the sisters
and all those who knew Mother Rafaila prayed
that day, may her soul find a place in the mansions
of the Lord where there is no illness but life
without end.

Archpriest TIMOFEY SHAYDUROV



Metropolitan Filaret and Bishop Varlaam conducting the
funeral service for Mother Rafaila, March 13, 1974

SERMONS

CHRIST'S PASCHA

I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne (Rev. 3. 21)

The greatest joy that we, Orthodox Christians, can know is now upon us: Christ is risen.

This is the victory of joy. Christ overcame death and it no longer holds sway over mankind. Christ is risen and man's death ceases to be death but becomes a dream, the dream of the victor who is to wake and taste the fruits of victory: *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne (Rev. 3. 21).*

This explains why the feast of the Pascha is a feast of victory and our joy at Pascha is the joy of victory.

The Paschal feast is a call to men to partake in this victory. He who fights participates in this victory. On a day of earthly victory, military leaders and humble toilers who helped bring about victory rejoice alike. And so on all Sundays and, particularly, on Easter Day all believers rejoice. The angels and the saints rejoice and sinners who struggled against sin. The Pascha is victory over death and it shows us that victory over sin is also possible. Moreover in our very struggle with sin lie the seeds of victory. Christ overcame sin and we, armed by Christ, can over-

come all that is sinful. Each repentant sinner is on the path to victory.

Let us rejoice that we live in the midst of such a life in which every day brings new triumphs.

You emerge victorious if you shake off indifference, if you show kindness unto your neighbour.

You are victorious if you acquire patience, overcome sloth and engage in toil.

In toil we find the reward of victory. This reward is to be found if you labour for your own gain, yet the reward will be greater and more joyous if you labour for your neighbour. Great is the reward of victory if your toil is for your Motherland; eternal and ineffable if it is for the Lord.

Pascha, the festival of Christ's resurrection calls us to overcome sin, promising us in the words of the Holy Spirit: *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne (Rev. 3. 21).*

Christ is risen indeed!

Metropolitan IOANNY
of Yaroslavl and Rostov

For the Feast of the Holy Spirit

For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men (Tit. 2. 11)

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit!

From the earliest times of her existence the Holy Church established a feast in honour of the Holy Spirit: the Day of Pentecost.

It was on this day that the Holy Spirit descended from heaven upon the Apostles, sent by God the Father, and

rested upon them in the form of tongues of fire.

And to this day, brothers and sisters, we give joyful praise to the Holy Spirit, His sublimity, His power and His glory.

On the day of His glorious Ascension into heaven, our Lord Jesus Christ promised to send His Apostles and all faithful a Comforter, the Holy Spirit

continue the divine work of salvation on earth. *"But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you,"* said the Lord to His Apostles, *and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem... and unto the uttermost part of the earth"* (Acts 1. 8). His promise came true on the day of Pentecost. Filled with the Holy Spirit, they spread the faith of Christ zealously through all the lands of the earth. Brothers and sisters, the descent of the Holy Spirit on earth is an act of the boundless love of God for the human race, of that love which caused Him to send His Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, down to earth to expiate the sins of men and save them from the devil and eternal death.

God the Father determined from time immemorial to expiate the sins of the human race. The Son of God, in His work of salvation on the cross, was carrying out the will of His Heavenly Father. Christ our Saviour, by conquering the devil and destroying sin, offered us salvation. He returned the right to eternal blessedness to those who believe in Him, and opened the way for them to the Heavenly Kingdom of God. The Holy Spirit came down to earth to bring the Saviour's work of salvation to every believing Christian and to free our stony hearts to receive the living grace of God.

The Holy Spirit descended not only upon the Apostles. Even now, He descends mystically and unseen upon every believing Christian in the sacraments of Baptism and Chrismation.

In the baptismal font we are blessed and reborn of the Holy Spirit for a new and spiritual life. In the Sacrament of Holy Communion He cleanses us body and soul from the evil of sin and unites us with our Lord Jesus Christ. Through the sacraments the Holy Spirit opens for us faithful the way to the dwelling of our Heavenly Father.

This is why, brothers and sisters, the sacraments of Baptism and Chrismation, in which the grace of the Holy Spirit descends upon the faithful, are indispensable to a Christian for his salvation. *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit,* said Christ our Saviour, *he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God* (Jn. 3. 5). The Apostle

Paul teaches that with the coming into the world of the Holy Spirit, *the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men* (Tit. 2. 11).

However, brothers and sisters, even after our spiritual rebirth in the sacraments our salvation depends not only upon God's mercy and upon the grace of the Holy Spirit, but also to a great extent upon our free will, our sincere faith and the Christian virtue of our life.

The spirit of evil, that tempted our forefathers so long ago, uses all the cunning devices at his disposal to have back the faithful Christian, reborn in the sacraments, into the abyss of sin and vice and to lead him astray from the path of salvation and back to the fiery Gehenna. The devil knows the weakness of our flesh, directing his dark powers according to our sinful inclinations, and often gains control over our flesh.

If anger and calumny, envy and self-indulgence, faithlessness and pride or the desire for the good things of this life are allowed to dominate us to the detriment of truth and cleanliness of soul, it means that the devil has been victorious over our sinful flesh. This all comes about through our lack of a firm resolve to follow saving precepts of Christ our Heavenly Teacher and of the Comforter, the Holy Spirit. And if on our way through life we meet with the smallest obstacle, we weaken and fall into the snares of the cunning tempter.

Through our sins we betray the Spirit of God, preventing Him from working in our hearts, and allowing the spirit of evil to take possession of them. Is this not, brothers and sisters, because there so often is neither peace nor repose, but only unrest, frustration and anger in our hearts? It is then that the words of St. Paul are fulfilled within us: *Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil* (Rom. 2. 9).

It is a terrible thing, brothers and sisters, to spend one's whole earthly life under the yoke of sin and vice, since for sinners there will be no blissful repose even after the day of their death. Unrepentant sinners will go, according

to the teaching of Christ, *into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched* (Mk. 9. 43).

In His boundless mercy our Lord Jesus Christ foresaw our spiritual weakness and propensity for sin and gave us the means to heal our spiritual sickness: heartfelt repentance and the sacraments of Christ's Church, in which we receive God's merciful forgiveness. True repentance, heartfelt prayer and the sacraments destroy our sin, drive out the spirit of evil and invite the grace of the Holy Spirit to return to our hearts.

And if we, brothers and sisters, take up a firm stance on the path of salvation of the life of the Gospels, the Holy Spirit will not remain dormant within us. The fruits of the Holy Spirit are clear to see, being *love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance* (Gal. 5. 22-23). *But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good*

(Rom. 2. 10) and after death, eternal life in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Let us, then, brothers and sisters, make a firm resolution before God to start a new life—not of the flesh, of sin—but of the spirit, of virtue!

Let us always pray to the Holy Spirit from the depths of our heart: "Heavenly King, Comforter, Spirit of Truth, abide with me and reside in us." And the Spirit of God will grant us a miraculous spiritual transformation, as He did to the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. And even if we do not, like the Apostles, begin to speak with tongues (Acts 2. 4), it will be our sincere faith and good deeds that speak for us.

Let us give thanks, brothers and sisters, to our Redeemer and Saviour, Lord Jesus Christ, Who sent us the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, from the Heavenly Father, for with His grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men (Tit. 2. 11).

Archpriest IOANN SOROKIN

In Memory of Saint Theodosius of the Caves

(For the 900th Anniversary of His Passing, 1074-1974)

Today we honour the star of Russia that shines out in the East even into the West (Kontakion)

Today, brothers and sisters, the Russian Orthodox Church joyfully celebrates the memory of Saint Theodosius, abbot of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. Nine hundred years ago Holy Russia bowed its head before the grave of this father of Russian monks, whom it so dearly loved and so profoundly honoured and venerated. With tears Russia took leave of this righteous man, whom it had taken to its heart. In grateful love Russia lifted up prayers to the holy father who had devoted himself entirely to the service of God and man.

Brothers and sisters, the whole of St. Theodosius' life from his early childhood provides us with a holy example of Christian living. Indeed it may be said that, while living on earth, he already belonged to the world above. In the hymn of praise devoted to Saint

Theodosius it is written: "For when still a young man he did shun earthly things and comprehend what was within; from his mother's womb he carried forth a pure vessel of the Holy Spirit, he did not seek earthly glory and by his own free will accepted poverty in the manner of his Lord; he paid heed to passing joys desirous of a single goal: to come before the Face of the Lord and to commune alone with the One God through prayer."¹

The fact that the saint had some time been set apart by God was particularly evident in the years of his early youth. Theodosius' favourite reading material was the Holy Scriptures, his favourite sustenance was prayer and his favourite abode the House of God. His mother was unable to understand his spiritual aspirations of this youth who shunned ordinary children's diversions and games. The admirable youth re-

and the time he spent at divine service the most dear of all and he visited the House of God with unfailing regularity. Sometimes the Divine Liturgy was not conducted in the church due to lack of communion bread and this caused Theodosius great sorrow. It led him to buy wheat, grind it into flour and start to bake communion bread himself. After that the Bloodless Sacrifice was celebrated each day using the bread prepared by the hands of the pious youth.

The path of holy men, brothers and sisters, is narrow and thorny from the very first steps. Saint Theodosius in his early youth was fated to wage a bitter struggle with the enemy of salvation, who took up arms against him through the person of his mother. Coming of a noble line she could not, for example, tolerate what she regarded as her son's lowly occupation of grinding corn and baking communion bread. Theodosius was obliged to leave his home secretly. After taking refuge in the house of a priest in a neighbouring town he continued to bake communion bread. His mother searched him out and with angry blows made him return home.

However, in the heart of this young soldier of Christ the desire to achieve spiritual feats never faded. He was ready to follow Christ with fervent resolution and take up his cross. The passing glory of this world was quite alien to him. He changed his expensive attire for humble, mean garments. The governor of the town of Kursk, where the youth lived, on one occasion presented Theodosius with fine clothes in recognition of his zealous attendance at church, but the poverty-loving Theodosius gave them away to the poor. On a number of occasions the devout youth was decked out in fine raiment, but each time he divested himself of it and gave it away to the poor.

Aspiring after the ascetic life Theodosius gradually began to mortify his flesh. Unknown to his fellow men he donned heavy chains, which cut into his skin and made him bleed. His mother discovered them and, in a fit of anger, again gave orders for her son to be beaten.

Yet nothing could hold back the

young zealot. His thirst for the monastic life was prompting him to join the brotherhood more and more strongly. One day during a church service he was deeply impressed by the following words from the Gospel: *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me* (Mt. 10. 37). Theodosius looked upon these words as a divine summons from the Lord Jesus Christ. They led him to leave his home and secretly make his way to Kiev. The Lord bent his steps to the cave of Saint Anthony who gave the youth a tender welcome, although he first put to the test his resolve to bear the privations of the ascetic life. With the blessing of this holy father Theodosius was admitted to the order of monkhood.

Dressed in the angelic garment the twenty-three-year-old zealot placed himself wholly in the hands of his mentor, the righteous Anthony. It was not a peaceful or easy life that awaited Theodosius in the close confines of the caves. The inveterate enemy of salvation, the Devil, prepared burning arrows of temptation and misfortune for him. "The infinite number of sorrows and hardships they endured in the narrow confines of that place is known to God alone, their multitude defieeth human tongues,"² wrote Nestor the Chronicler in his record of the saint's life.

With the help of the Lord, in Whom Theodosius always placed his trust, he succeeded in overcoming the Tempter and attained such perfection in the monastic life that he astounded even his spiritual mentor Anthony.

For his great virtues Saint Theodosius was chosen as abbot or hegumen of the Monastery of the Caves. Yet, despite this high calling, he still remained a humble servant of Christ and regarded himself as last among the brothers. The spiritual stature of this humble monk was enhanced by the most lofty moral perfection, which brought him undying glory as a saint of Russia and miracle worker.

For our spiritual edification, brothers and sisters, let us turn our gaze, to the ever-radiant figure of Saint Theodosius.

From the misty past of our country's history the countenance of the God-

bearing leader of monks shines forth to this day in the radiance of virtuous humility. These are the words in which Nestor described him: "Father Theodosius, although he had become our Abbot, did not lose his humility, remaining ever mindful of the Lord's words: *whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister* (Mt. 20. 26). He was ever humble, placing himself below all others, he waited upon everyone, providing us all with an example: he set forth to toil earlier than all the others, just as we are bidden to do in the holy Liturgy"² (pp. 147-148). For instance on one occasion there was no water in the monastery and the cellarer informed Father Theodosius of this. The holy father immediately rose to his feet and set off to bring in water from the well himself. One of the brothers saw him setting about this work and told the other monks of it. These ran to help and soon brought in water with plenty to spare. There is no end to the examples of the saint's humility as recounted by his chronicler.

The saint was truly poverty-loving. His clothes were of such coarse and rough material that the poverty of his external appearance evoked laughter and mockery but Theodosius, mild man of righteousness, only rejoiced the more.

His soul was also enhanced by the gift of mercy. There was no end to his charity, indeed so much so that some of the brothers began to speak against their abbot for his preoccupation with the poor. The saint built a dwelling house to provide shelter for the poor, sick, homeless and hungry and, later, a church to provide them with spiritual food and comfort. Moreover he would deliver bread to prisoners in their dungeon cells.

Brothers and sisters, for Saint Theodosius faith and hope were that firm rock, that indestructible adamant against which broke the fiercest waves of worldly temptation. All "thought for the morrow" was foreign to the soul of the saint, who placed all his hopes in Him Who cares for the birds of heaven, the Creator and Provider. This faith of the true follower of Christ's commandments was always justified throughout his earthly life and provides us with an

edifying example. Let us cite an instance from his life.

One day the cellarer informed abbot with alarm that there was thing to give the brothers to eat for the monastery's supplies had been exhausted. The saint replied: "Go for be patient for a little and pray to God. God will surely minister unto you." In answer to the blessed Theodosius' prayers soon afterwards a local boy was moved by God to send to the monastery three cartloads of victuals: bread, cheese and fish.

"The saint was filled with love for all his fellowmen. He took into the monastery all who wished to enter, regardless of their social position or fortune. But his love was manifested most strikingly of all when any of the brothers succumbed to temptation and left the monastery, and then later, in answer to the abbot's prayers, returned like a stray sheep to the fold. With brotherly joy and readiness to forgive erring ways the holy abbot would welcome back the repentant brother."

Saint Theodosius also provides us with a lofty example of prayer and fasting. In keeping with the behest of St. Paul: *Pray without ceasing* (1 Th. 5. 17) the saint often used to pray all night, not suffering his eyes to close. "For he spent the whole night without sleep, constantly standing in prayer" (p. 92).

For the spirit prayer is the breath of life. Without prayer the soul of a Christian grows weak and perishes. This is why holy men and saints have always assiduously devoted themselves to prayer. The Holy Church recognizes in Saint Theodosius a man endowed with such a gift of prayer.

Inseparable from the virtue of prayer is the feat of fasting. Prayer and fasting are the two heavenly wings of a man's soul. Spiritual and physical temperance weigh heavy upon the heart and chain it to the earth. Saint Theodosius stood firm in his feats of fasting particularly during the sacred days of Lent. At that time he would withdraw into a cell in the caves and wage spiritual struggle against the enemy for salvation: "What words can describe his works and his sufferings there,

gid fasting and his combat with the emptier of souls!?" (*Ibid.*)

The blessed Theodosius exhorted those he taught to repent of their sins: "I beseech you, brothers," he bade the monks "to practice fasting and prayer, to devote your endeavours to the salvation of your souls and to turn away from any wickedness from all the paths of the Devil such as lust, theft, slander, idle speech, drunkenness, gluttony and ill-will. Let us turn away, brothers, from all this and not sully our souls with such wickedness. Let us walk in the path of the Lord which leads us to our Heavenly Home. Let us seek forgiveness from God with weeping and tears, fasting and vigil, humility and obedience so that we may obtain His mercy... Each day we should repent of our sins, for repentance is the path that leads to the Kingdom. It is the key without which no one can enter the Kingdom of Heaven. We shall keep to this path, planting our feet firmly upon it. Our progress along this path is full of sorrows but later will bring us great joy. Thus, my brothers, we must, above all, work towards that day when we shall attain blessedness and avoid all those things practiced by the unrighteous and unrepentant"² (pp. 151-152).

Saint Theodosius, brothers and sisters, is known as the initiator of the monastic tradition in Russia, because together with Saint Anthony of the Caves he implanted here in Russia the true monastic way of life. From the Kiev Monastery of the Caves there proceeded a line of monks who were to be the glory of our Russian Orthodox Church. A multitude of ardent Christians was bred in that holy Russian city. Yet Saint Theodosius is still dearer to us, brothers and sisters, in that he is always with us who are living on

earth. Nine hundred years ago his blessed life here came to a close, and since then on high before the Throne of the Lord this great man of God and worker of miracles prays for all those who turn to him for intercession. Particularly in these days the Russian Church honours his memory in her prayers as the heavenly patron of those seeking salvation, and offers up praise and thanksgiving to him.

We too, dear brothers and sisters, lift up our voices to our holy father St. Theodosius: "We pray unto thee our lodestar to direct our steps to a peaceful haven and to calm the tempest of our thoughts and to pray to the Lord of all for us, that He might inspire us with thoughts, words and works that we might walk according to His and thy will and in this life; visit us, Holy Father, and protect us from all snares of the enemy and works which lead us away from God and help us through thy prayers to lead a pure and God-fearing life"¹ (p. 94).

As we commemorate this holy man of God, our love for him inspires us to glorify him as a great light of our life in Christ. Let us praise this wondrous saint of the Russian Church, offering him our thanks for all his good works and his wondrous help to us who are weak and unable to help ourselves, singing unto him: "Rejoice, Father Theodosius, our glory and splendour." Amen.

Father VADIM SMIRNOV, lecturer
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¹ Патерик Печерский. Похвала преподобному отцу нашему Феодосию Печерскому. Изд. Киево-Печерской Лавры, 1869, л. 90 об.

² Житие преподобного Феодосия, описанное преподобным Нестором. Перевод епископа Харьковского Филарета. Ученые записки, II отделение, АН, 1856, т. II, с. 146.

Troparion to St. Theodosius of the Caves

Attaining to virtue and nurturing a love for the monastic life from tender years thou didst fulfil thy radiant desire and made thy abode in the caves: enhancing thy life in this way with purity and radiance, in thy prayers thou wast pure as if thou hadst shaken off flesh: thou didst shine forth like a bright light through the Russian land, Father Theodosius and dost pray to Christ our Lord that He might save our souls.

For the Feast of St. Sergius of Radonezh

It is with joy and solemnity that the Russian Orthodox Church venerates this great saint and patron of the land of Russia, Saint Sergius of Radonezh, the Miracle Worker.

The Orthodox people has kept bright the blessed memory of St. Sergius for more than six centuries. His deeds and love for his native land are as a shining light to the Church of his native land. Russians visit with love and faith the holy relics of the saint in the Lavra that he founded, just as formerly they used to come to the man himself, bringing him their sorrows and joys, their griefs and their thoughts.

The son of poor but devout boyars, Kirill and Maria, from Rostov who had moved to Radonezh, young Varfolomey, at a time of great hardships for Russia (about 1340), followed his heart (a heart that had been God's since childhood) and went to reside in a lonely place on the wooded hill of Makovets not far from Moscow.

Leaving the world like this for the love of Christ was the start of a whole lifetime of spiritual achievement. The young hermit's brother helped him to build his first church, but there was no one to help him bear the cross of complete solitude but God. His only support was the Church of the Life-Giving Trinity, consecrated with the blessing of Bishop Feognost by Hegumen Mitrofan, who received Varfolomey's monastic vows and named him Sergius.

News of the deeds of the saint traveled, and the first pupils began to gather about him. The solitude so beloved of the saint was violated but his love for those seeking salvation prevailed. Their little brotherhood was led by the Starets and Hegumen Mitrofan, who was soon, however, to die. Saint Sergius took his place as was right and proper and was an example to the whole brotherhood in his meekness and his industry.

The saintly abbot made the salvation of the brothers his concern both day and night, for his heart was open

to all in the love of Christ. Here was a man who had not only struck the miracle-working spark of faith in himself but who was able to strike it in others as well.

Saint Sergius, like St. Anthony and St. Theodosius of the Caves before him, carried out the noble task of renewing the moral strength of the people, but in a different age. He was an active supporter of Russian unity and of the principle of peace, a spiritual father and adviser to princes, and a friend to bishops.

His great spiritual strength was instrumental in the rebirth of the strength of the people that had been partially broken under an alien yoke. The image of the saint entered the soul of every Russian and gave rise to faith in victory over the enemy. The fate of his people and his country was dear to the heart of the saint, and he helped the people to gather their strength, harden their spirit and rise up against the enemy of the land of Russia.

The Lavra he founded is a great monument to the merits of the saint and a treasure house bearing eloquent witness to the fate of his land. He works in humility by the shrine of the relics of the abbot of Radonezh, contemplating in reverence the greatness of his deeds, will see that the spiritual rebirth initiated by him is continuing even now, for the life of the monastery is inseparable from that of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Often has a voice encouraging the people to the defence of their Motherland rung out from the monastery of St. Sergius. At his graveside believers have found a bounty of spiritual strength before which mere human strength has more than once bowed down and yielded. Even now, may we find new strength there in their work for the good of the Church and Motherland.

May the name of St. Sergius be written in all our hearts! May his Christian life be an example to us, and his memory forever holy! Amen.

Archimandrite AGAFANGEL, Rector
of the Odessa Theological Seminary

PEACE MOVEMENT

COMMUNIQUE

of the CPC Disarmament Subcommittee's Session,

West Berlin, April 2-5, 1974

At the invitation of the CPC West Berlin Regional Committee, the CPC Subcommittee on Disarmament met from April 2 to 5 in the Gustav Adolf Building. The Secretary of the International Commission, Mr. Klaus Ehrler, chaired the meeting whose participants came from ten countries.

Introductory speeches on the present commitment of Christians and churches to the task of disarmament were made by K. Ehrler (West Berlin), Pastor H. Drewes (FRG), Chairman of the CPC International Commission, and Prof. A. Geyer (USA). Thereafter the activities of the CPC and the results of the Moscow World Congress of Peace Forces were discussed, and their influence upon the further work of our movement in the sphere of disarmament.

The Subcommittee's meeting produced the following:

1) Recommendations for a World Conference of Christians and Churches in support of Disarmament, in particular the convocation of an international

disarmament conference within the framework of the UN.

2) Recommendations for the first World Disarmament Day on June 17, 1975 (the 50th anniversary of the Geneva Protocol on the prohibition of poison gas), including information for use during divine service centered on the idea of disarmament.

3) A list of tasks for the future work of the subcommission.

A working group of the subcommission was requested to draw up a memorandum which would be disseminated by a CPC delegation for the opening of the XXIVth General Assembly of the UN.

A reception with a panel discussion was held in the Dahlem Parish House at the close of the meeting for the participants and representatives of the interested West Berlin public.

In the work of the Subcommittee on Disarmament the Russian Orthodox Church was represented by Hieromonk Iosif Pustoutov, member of the International Secretariat of the CPC.

Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will Toward Men

The World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow is quite rightly considered to be one of the outstanding events of our time, an event that showed that people could join their will and actions for peace, irrespective of the premises that guide them. This was noted, for example, by the participants in the meeting of two working groups of the Conference of European Churches, gathered in Buckow, German Democratic Republic, soon after the Congress. The communiqué of the conference observed: "During a special joint session the meeting heard and discussed a report on activity in the GDR in support of peace, presented by Dr. Günther Dre-

fahl, President of the National Peace Council of the GDR. Much interest was also shown in the recent World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow. The CEC observer at this important event, Dr. H. Ruh (Switzerland), gave his impressions on the place and need for the involvement of Churches and individual Christians in the worldwide effort for the establishment of a just peace. In the ensuing discussion it was noted that Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, addressing the World Congress had stated that, in the cause of peace much could be done in Europe in the first place. The maintenance of

peace in Europe has...become an imperative necessity,' said Mr. Brezhnev who had looked forward to 'the further growth of joint action by Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Christians'" (Communique of November 30, 1973). Thus, peace in the world is the most important point on the agenda of mankind's present-day thought and action. One passage in the communique, however, calls for a more detailed analysis of the concept of "peace," for bringing out nuances in this concept, which allows us to avoid distorting the sense of the term. Distortion would be not only undesirable, but in a certain sense dangerous. The passage reads: "Dr. Glen Garfield Williams, General Secretary of the CEC, noted how the themes of the two working groups were actually complementary. 'Who should be able to speak with greater authority about peace and understanding than the Christian Churches?' he asked, and added, 'How can the Churches contribute to the establishment of peace unless they have established peace amongst themselves?'" One may see in this a slight shift in the use of the term, no more than a rhetorical device, but the idea and effect immediately carry over from one area into another: from the realm of political peace among peoples to the area of Church relations, where there are complexities of denomination and ritual that have no place in the political world.

Having in view the forthcoming (September, 1974) Assembly of the Conference of European Churches, "Nyborg-VII," the subject of which will be "Be Ye Doers of the Word (Jas. 1. 22), Unity in Christ and Peace in the World—The Christian Hope and Promise of the Gospels," and having in view, too, the undesirability of deviating from the direct sense of what modern man means by "peace," the present article is an attempt to indicate some of the nuances of this concept. We wish to state clearly here that that peace that was discussed at the World Congress of Peace Forces and for which it is necessary and possible to join all of mankind's resources, is a strictly delimited reality that may not be construed in a sense not proper to it. We wish to note that the peace that we seek is a peace among nations, a peace securing fruitful cooperation for world development.

Betterment of the World: the Foundation of a State of Peace

It is proper for a Christian to analyse the problems of peace within a system suggested by his religious outlook. Christians' evaluation of current events and their corresponding practical

activity will have the most significance advancing and serving their fellow man if they, on the one hand, on faith in the dynamic development of the world to a higher state, and, on the other, on a knowledge of the correlation of the different factors of our time in their actual interconnections. Belief in the providential will of God, which directs everything to good, to perfection, to salvation, belief in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, a victory attained through the victory of truth over error together with the experience of overcoming and attaining virtue—these are the bases of conviction we have expressed. In the light of view that the world is dynamically directed to a higher level of being (i. e. of consciousness condition and internal harmony), the judgement and activity of the followers of Christ reject the pessimism of retreat, the hopelessness of immobility, as well as the egocentricism of self-isolation. The optimism of the movement onw... and upward in the vector composed of two types of love—for God and for fellow man—derives its force from the vision of Christ, Who reveals the dynamic in His incarnation and Who summoned the world, which became His in the flesh, to become His, too, in the spirit through the transfiguration of the world and man, in the deed on the cross after Christ's example, in the resurrection and perfection with Him. *I am the way, the truth, and the life* (Jn. 14. 6)—that is the Christian criterion of the dynamic. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself* (Mk. 12. 31), *love the good, and establish judgement in the gate* (Am. 5. 15)—these are no less effective criteria for understanding the real correlation of the factors of present-day existence. The Christian is not at some abstract remove from the world around him, nor must he be proudly self-righteous, as though justified by his faith (either actually or nominally). The Christian lives and acts together with all his brothers in the human family, with believers and non-believers, seeing in everything around him the will of God, good and perfect, seeing in every aspiration to do good an answer to Christ's call to follow Him. It is in the optimism of such an integral approach to the world that the hope of the Christian title to the ultimate purpose of everything is most fully justified—that *God will be all in all* (1 Cor. 15. 28). From this stems the endeavour by Christians to obtain community and coordination of efforts not only within the Church, but also outside, for the service of good, truth, mutual accommodation, and above all for what serves peace, for as it is said in Scripture: *God hath called us to peace* (1. Cor. 7. 15).

The development of the world is attended by the struggle of good and evil. Evil, described by the Holy Scripture as *the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life* (Jn. 2. 16) and compared by early Christian writing to "the way of death" (the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, the 'Shepherd' by Hermas) may be understood in modern terms as backwardness, stagnation, resistance to progress and, finally, imperialism, which irrefutably engenders the most grave and dangerous conditions in the present-day world. Good may be thought of as progress, justice and peace.

The fact of struggle itself prevents us from viewing peace in the sense of absolute tranquillity of body and soul, a tranquillity that, in Christian belief, we will attain only in the Heavenly Kingdom. Peace is in no way static calm. It always arises in dialectical tension, as synthesis, but even at that point it does not become fixed in the immobility of a "crystal sphere" but advances new forms of struggle for something even higher and more perfect. Hence the words of the Lord spoken to His disciples become understandable: *Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division* (Lk. 12. 51). Peace taken in the absolute sense is complete perfection, possible only in The One Who gives perfection, in Christ Jesus, our Lord, of Whom it is said: "Christ is our peace." The peace that we seek most often is "the way of life" in our earthly existence. It is for this reason that there exists, in the creature world, a dynamic of development directed to perfection, that there is no absolute peace, as is said in Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 2. 23). Only rarely does a glimmer of the higher peace sometimes show in a rainbow over the rolling waves of the threatening sea of life (cf. Gen. 9. 17), in order to draw the heart to perfection, in order to assure us of the approaching tranquillity and peace for creation, ascending to perfection by stages, in order to give a sign of the reality of the peaceful principle of movement and perfection—God, the true Peace and all-perfect tranquillity.

Thus, the search for peace—mankind's search—is a search for a more perfect state of the world and man, a search for new dynamic forms that will reveal more and more the conformity of creation to its purposes, that will ever more reveal the image and likeness of God that is in the highest of His creatures, man (cf. Gen. 1. 26). In this sense, mystical immersion in the contemplation of God's energies, the obtaining of "the light of Tabor" which is more or less achieved by ascetic deeds and prayer, in other words, the perception of the divine peace in the

heart of the believer, is that sign of the "rainbow," reflecting the higher peace of God in the inner man. This does not end man's responsibility in the struggle against evil and therefore does not plunge man into the static of "self-righteousness," into ending further efforts for perfection.

Thus, peace in the developing world cannot be viewed as calm. However, the attractiveness of peace for the human heart, an attractiveness that induces a state of satisfaction, is that it indicates the way of perfection, that it satisfies the natural thirst for ascension to Absolute Peace. A state of peace corresponds to the movements of the world and of man to the purpose of development to good set before them—this is an interpretation of peace that is broad to the utmost.

Various Aspects of Peace and Reconciliation

It would, however, be insufficient to settle for so broad an understanding of peace. In an ecumenical discussion, when specific undertakings for the achievement of peace are at issue, one must not refer only to peace in God or speak only of a state of internal contentment with an awareness of duty fulfilled with respect to one's own betterment or the betterment of one's fellow man. It is necessary to discuss specifically and to distinguish between peace and reconciliation with God, peace with nature, social peace and, finally, political peace. Not forgetting what we have just said of peace in a broad and dynamically purposeful sense, let us dwell on the separate aspects of peace, noting beforehand that even a simple refusal to abuse freedom—be it with respect to God, the human community, our fellow man, ourselves or nature—can in a relative sense be called peace.

Peace and reconciliation with God in the full sense of the word means entering into the divine life, or deification. But even the simple observance of the Old and New Testament commandments can be called peace and reconciliation. In this case, one may not even be actively striving for the peace of God in its full meaning—only for the honest observance of the principles of morality. This sort of integrity is observed even in the absence of belief, with only an awareness of the need for a complex of ethical tenets, observing which man occupies a worthy place among his brothers in nature and in the universe. Integrity to God and integrity with respect to human moral duty are the bases of the community between believers and non-believers. Thus, the degrees of peace and reconciliation in which divine and humanist elements create

the possibility of cooperation of believers and non-believers vary.

Similarly, true peace with nature and one's habitat is a peace of creation, achieved in the process of increasing cognition of physical, biological, anthropological, sociological and, finally, spiritual laws, a cognition that in the Christian understanding is connected with Christogenesis, i. e. with entry through Christ and with Christ into the higher realms of being and cognition. But there is a broad expanse of intermediate measures along the way to this peace. For example, the destruction of nature through rapacious or thoughtless acts, through the pollution and spoilage of our habitat, a destruction so striking at present, can be halted by care, cleansing and restoration. Such changes, provoked by necessity, are not yet a true peace with nature, which requires creative betterment of nature, not just rational use; if you will, they do not even rise to the height of human cooperation overcoming economic, political, cultural and other divisions, yet, in a relative sense, they may be called measures for man's peace and reconciliation with nature.

Peace in a social and civic respect is at present the most complex, if we have in mind different socio-political systems, unregulated economic relations, inequality in the distribution of rights and obligations, lack of harmony between the individual and the society in social processes, etc. It would seem that more than enough has been said in the ecumenical movement about so-called social reconciliation in capitalist society, a reconciliation that cannot in fact be achieved because of political, economic, national and racial inequality. In socialist society, founded on a just distribution of rights and obligations, peace in social and civic relations is the path of development, a path that is sure and constantly justified in practice and at the same time that constantly reveals new horizons. The problem of peace in this area is always resolved under the conditions of progressive social reforms signifying the development of society towards good—in overcoming obstacles that maintain the sins of this world, including the utopian vision of social peace and reconciliation, which only supports inequality and allows the manifestation of sinful abuses.

Attempts to solve problems of social peace, attempts sometimes undertaken in ecumenism, if they acquire a Western interpretation have in view either a Christian understanding of social peace in its ideal sense, i. e. a state of sinlessness, creation in men's hearts of peace with their fellow men through love and justice, in other words, the realization of the Kingdom of

God on earth, or ideological tendencies of convergence. While the former is the ideal goal of social progress, achieved in full in the Kingdom of God, the second is a utopia. Without a doubt one should endeavour to bring about justice and peace in social and civic relations; without doubt, Christians should fully support this search for peace; but it is also beyond doubt that social reconciliation can be achieved only through just, progressive reforms, through the renunciation of egoism, racial and national exaltation, economic inequality, etc. Christians in the Eastern, socialist countries are aware of this. In other words, in the struggle for justice and peace in the social realm, mankind traverses a road with a great number of variations, taking account of specific conditions of place and time.

However, none of the categories enumerated should be separated from the principal question of the contemporary world—the problem of peace among nations, of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Here, too, of course, one can point to ideal levels of import for the given purpose, for example, ascent by degrees of perfection through *existentia pro* (the existence of one for another) to the higher Absolute Peace—Christian ascent that ecumenical dialogue often has in mind, or fulfilment of the commandment *Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called children of God* (Mt. 5. 9), which, according to Christian belief, will lead to the blessed time when *they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more* (Is. 2. 4). The current problem of peace among nations is more obvious, more real and immediate than it is absolutely essential for the development of nations to renounce war as a means of resolving international conflicts, as well as armaments in general, which are a factor of fear and engender mistrust and disunity and which exhaust mankind's vital resources. Without quest for peace among nations reduces the evil in the world, weakens sin with respect to human nature and fulfils the Christian commandment, *thou shalt not kill*. However, taking the concept expressed above of the betterment of the world as the basis of a state of peace it speaks more to the Christian consciousness. Peace among nations is joined with peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with differing socio-economic systems and political views, and this is a true good for nations in their development and betterment. Peace among nations is a condition for the world's movement onward and upward, towards broader horizons of being and consciousness; Christians must

not underestimate this aspect of international peace.

It would be possible to speak some more of church peace, i. e. of what the General Secretary of the Conference of European Churches, Dr. Allen Garfield Williams, compared with the general problems of peace and mutual understanding; but Church peace is an ecumenical problem and relates more to theology than to peacemaking. What has just been said of the different aspects of peace and reconciliation was intended to call Christian consciousness to distinguish between these different aspects and to act so as, without confusing different concepts of peace, to serve where it is now most necessary for the good, well-being and betterment of mankind and all of God's creation. In reality, even against Absolute Peace, Christ, the different aspects of peace are dynamic streams, far from quiet in their flow and far from following directly to the One Ocean of Divine Peace, or, as is sometimes said, to "the Omega" (cf. the philosopher and theologian Pierre Teilhard de Chardin). However close these streams come, sometimes merging and overlapping each other, as for example with respect to peace among nations, they must be viewed as different in order to avoid confusion in conceptions. The Old Testament demand for purity not only in serving but even in forms of serving (cf. the precepts of the Book of Leviticus) should be applied to the differentiation of the separate aspects and nuances of peace; as is said in the book of the Prophet Daniel, iron does not mix with clay (Dan. 2. 43). Making peace along all lines is truly the way of life. But when we concern ourselves with strengthening peace among nations, we must have a definite conception and must act in precise correspondence to this concern, having in view peace in the whole world, the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of peoples.

The Theology of Peace and Contemporary Political Problems

The theology of peace, proceeding from the depths of the Russian Orthodox Church and applied by her representatives at the World Council of Churches, the Christian Peace Conference, the Conference of European Churches and, in general, at many different levels, aspires to be ecumenical, but this should and does mean that its sources it is nourished not only on the Holy Scripture and Tradition, but also on native springs, on its native people at the given historical phase of its existence; it is in fact the Christian interpretation of the consciousness of Soviet society, an integral part of which is made

up of members of the Church. Why this is so becomes clear from the Orthodox understanding of the teaching of the Heavenly Kingdom, which is also affirmed in ecumenical theology, for example by the Bishop of the Church of South India, Leslie Newbigin (cf. Leslie Newbigin. *The Household of God*. London, 1955). To the Pharisees' question, *when the kingdom of God should come*, our Lord Jesus Christ answered: *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you* (Lk. 17. 20-21). The Apostle Paul, speaking of the Kingdom of God, said that it is *not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost* (Rom. 14. 17). Elsewhere he said that *the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power* (1 Cor. 4. 20). One can see from this that the teaching of the Kingdom of God supposes not an eschatological perspective or culmination in "the Omega" alone, but also the entry of the Kingdom of God into every real moment of human history, or, speaking in the words of the Gospels, "its drawing nigh to the human heart," as the words and parables of the Gospels say (cf. Mt. 3. 2; 4. 17; 10. 7; 13. 24-30, 31-32, 33, 44, 45-46, 47-50; 18. 23-35; 20. 1-16; 22. 2-14). We do really see the entry of the Kingdom of God in every place and in every time through good deeds worked by the human will, and so it is said in the Holy Scripture that *the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force* (Mt. 11. 12). Proceeding from the understanding of the Kingdom of God as something created by each of us in our heart in any day or hour of our life, we exert all our energies for good works, including the creation of peace in all areas and by all means accessible to us, and above all—peace among nations and just reconciliation within the human community, while fully conscious of our Motherland (cf. the Orthodox treatment of the view of the significance of a Christian life for the Kingdom of God and for salvation in the book by Archbishop Sergiy, later His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia "Православное учение о спасении." изд. 4, СПб., 1910).

Contemporary world politics provide both negative and positive examples demanding Christian concern in questions of international peace.

Violation of international agreements in the Middle East, which brought in its train suffering for the Arab people of Palestine, has for a long time been a cause of tension in this area; it has poisoned international life, introducing the spirit of nationalistic Zionism, and led ulti-

mately to a new outbreak of military action. Christianity cannot take a hostile position towards any people, but it cannot but see danger for the very essence of the Christian message and for serving this world in the hateful self-exaltation, which goes far beyond the limits of preserving national dignity, that is manifested in Zionism. One must thus see in the tension in the Middle East and in the military conflict not simply a local conflict, but a system with which the Christian Church cannot reconcile herself, for this system leads to violation of the political right of nations to self-determination and to a life secure from threats, because it hinders the normal development both of the Arab and the Jewish peoples, their cooperation to lead the Palestinian land, holy to three world religions—Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism—from millennial backwardness to a level of development worthy of this sacred land. The mission of chosenness that the Israeli people bore before the coming of Christ and for which historic events, reflected in the Bible, took place, cannot, from the Christian point of view, serve as a basis for the ideological and political pretensions of the Zionists, primarily because the Messiah, Christ, joined Himself to the whole world, eliminating the boundaries that separated peoples, and because He called His world to perfection, in which there is a place for the Jewish people and for any other, without preference. This religious position of the faithful supports in its own way what the whole Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet confraternity have said about the events in the Middle East, condemning aggression and demanding justice for the Arab Palestinian people and peace for this region as a condition for the normal life of the Arab and Israeli states, with a strict respect for international agreements.

Events in Asia, memorable as the drama in Vietnam, which unfortunately has still not seen its last act, and the bloody clashes in Laos and Cambodia, remain in the centre of our attention, compelling cooperation in the elaboration of a substantively new programme for Asia, a programme of collective security, with the participation of the USSR, the People's Republic of China and other states of the continent. Our country recently proposed a non-aggression pact between the two great powers that, territorially, encompass a great part of Eurasia. There is no need to repeat again and again the Christian arguments in support of such a development in Asia, a development that would support there peace and the peaceful coexistence of peoples and would thereby open the way to cooperation for progress, for the good of all. Members of

the Russian Orthodox Church are as one with the sober-minded people in Asian countries who want to be more optimistic with respect to the future, constructive development of political relations in Asia and who are applying their efforts to that end.

These examples of international tension, given the present development of international relations, argue for the possibility to resolve them peacefully, on the principles of justice.

Given the present international situation, measures must be taken to strengthen the policy of peace, of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, measures that are being carried out by the Soviet Union together with other countries in the socialist camp and meeting understanding and support in non-aligned states, in the realistically thinking circles of the capitalist countries of Europe, in Canada, the United States and the countries of the Third World. In this respect we should note the positive achievements stemming from the conclusion of treaties and agreements between our country and the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States. What has been done in Helsinki and what is now being undertaken in Geneva in the area of European security and cooperation is also important.

Agreements on peace between socialist and some capitalist states provide broad possibilities for the more adequate and fruitful development of those countries concluding agreements. But it would be wrong to suppose that there lurk behind these agreements any egoistical calculations or that as a result of agreements of this sort some third party may suffer. Agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union, for example, reduce tension in the whole world and this will free peoples from the fear of a new war and will make it possible to redirect financial and technical resources to peaceful development. One can thus see that two-party agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States have broad political importance and envisage the good of the entire world.

Much has been written in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* on the problem of European security. The Russian Orthodox Church supports any constructive steps that will lead to the solution of this problem in a positive sense. To this end she cooperates with the Christian Peace Conference, with the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches.

The problems of peace and peaceful coexistence and cooperation, which are on the agenda of present-day thought on peace, its future, quality of life, the dignity of man, and so on, are truly in the centre of attention of progress

manity. As was noted at several sessions of the Church and Society Department of the WCC in 1973 (Pont-à-Mousson, Zurich, Leuenberg), "peace among nations, peaceful coexistence and cooperation are the *conditio sine qua non* of any positive development in the modern world," i.e. a condition without which it is impossible to conceive the development and flowering of our planet.

There is a very apposite commentary to this in the materials of the World Congress of Peace Forces. More than 300 participants of the Congress who represented the different religions of the world expressed, at a special session at the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra, their inflexible will for peace by the decision to do everything possible to establish a just and lasting peace on earth through the activation of the united peace-making activities of believers and through the consolidation of their efforts for peace with the efforts of all people of good will.

Peace as a Precondition for Cooperation for Peaceful Development

Without confusing the different aspects of peace, we should nevertheless stress once more that peace among nations, a peace manifested in peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states with differing political and socio-economic systems, creates in our time the most favourable conditions for the solution of vitally important questions in economics, health, population growth, environmental conservation, technological progress, space exploration, and so on.

Let us look at some examples.

The monetary crisis that has struck the Western world was engendered to a significant extent by the fluctuation of the dollar—and the latter was a result of the Vietnam war and other undertakings directly connected with an imperialist policy. Various sorts of economic crises, as well as a raw materials crisis, pollution of the environment, and so on, are associated with the same policy of imperialism, which involves a specific system of production relations. Scientific and theological consultation at Pont-à-Mousson showed that the present-day economics of the non-socialist world requires other bases, another planning system and another distribution of material values than was the case earlier (*JMP*, 1973, No. 7, p. 54). War cannot be a means for solving political and economic problems in view of the threat of universal destruction involved in a nuclear conflict. On the other hand, a policy of peace involving positive and constructive elements of creating more healthy and more satisfactory political and economic relations. Given peace, new ap-

proaches to prices, markets, the exploitation of resources, and development for the achievement of really necessary values are possible. International peace supposes a lively exchange of all economic goods; this is necessary both for developed and developing countries, in order better to coordinate efforts for a more just and even distribution of the values now at humanity's disposal.

Humanity's health and growth are possible only through the cooperation of biologists, doctors and sociologists on a world scale, which can be achieved only under conditions of peace.

Protecting our habitat requires, without question, peace among nations. Only given peace are agreements envisaging, for example, the cleaning of the atmosphere and water on a global scale possible, or measures to protect humanity from physical and biological changes that threaten the existence of life on earth.

The current discussion of the "fate" of technology, which supposedly enslaves man, can be resolved positively, with rational management of technology by man, only given control involving all of humanity. But this also demands peace, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Cooperation among nations is especially necessary for space exploration and for using the fruits of the latter for the general benefit. Space research will without question lead to the discovery of new sources of energy, new resources, and their new and improved use. It will expand the scope for life for the population of the planet Earth, so that the labour and interests of its inhabitants find new application in the space around the Sun. It is now difficult to agree with Chardin's assertion that the thinking envelope of the Earth—the "noosphere"—is limited to the surface of the globe (Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. *L'Avenir de l'homme*). The development of technology under the direction of human reason ensures in principle the spread of the noosphere, at the least, to the solar system. This opens fascinating prospects for the real and creative participation of man in the process of bettering the world, in carrying human thought and deeds to the universe.

Civic Responsibility in the Struggle for Peace

The spirit of responsibility for the cause of peace must dwell in every human heart if the policy of peace is to live and be universal. This affects the discussion of the rights and obligations of man, i.e. of the sociological and anthropological problem advanced in international and ecumenical relations in connection with questions of peace. One cannot deny the importance of

this problem, which in the present-day world is urgently raised by South African and Rhodesian apartheid, by the struggle for civil rights in the United States, by the overturn in Chile, and so on. The universal declaration of the rights of man, ratified by a majority of governments, including the government of the Soviet Union, must be fulfilled, aiding the achievement of normal personal and social relations in the process of socialization. But the question of rights and obligations is evidently connected with the problem of peace among peoples chiefly in its second part, i. e. in obligations.

When it is said that "rights and obligations are inseparably connected in one and the same person" (cf., for example, the Circular Letter of Pope John XXIII, *Peace on Earth*, the Vatican, 1963, pp. 3-14), what is usually stressed is that someone has rights and those around have an obligation to respect these rights. From our point of view, it would be better to accentuate the individual's obligations with respect to himself, his fellow man, society, his people and native land, to the whole family of mankind, to nature, the universe, and finally to God, and to frame the question of rights in conjunction with the consciousness of obligations, on analogy, as it were, with the words of the prayer of our Lord, *And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors* (Mt. 6. 12).

Among our most immediate obligations is the duty to love our country, to live for it, to defend it, to lay down our life for it, if that be necessary. The Russian Orthodox Church has always understood the patriotism of her members that way, exalting this feeling over personal interests, over family obligations, over monastic asceticism, even over the preaching of peace, comparing the debt to the Motherland with the selflessness of the Lord, Who gave the commandment and ideal of Christian service in the words, *Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends* (Jn. 15. 13).

With pride and reverence, our Holy Church recalls the names of her children who acted in accordance with this precept. The Church brings up believing youth and future pastors in our country in this spirit remembering the inspiring exhortations of Patriarchs Sergiy and Aleksey. Patriotic duty is a most important treasure of the Russian soul, something that can be separated neither from faith nor from what is termed the self-awareness of each of us and of our people as a whole. This duty and this feeling are the same among Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Letts, Kazakhs, in other words, among all the many

peoples united in the one family of our Motherland, the Soviet Union. What can be greater, more satisfying for our internal essence, more beautiful, more glorious than this sentiment that unites all of us! Can any petty interests or calculations eclipse the consciousness of our patriotic duty? Isn't individualistic isolation, which places self-interest above love for the homeland, a sin both from the point of view of human morality and from the position of the Gospels? What right can be set above the duty to love and to defend one's homeland?

If historical examples reminding us of patriotic pride are inadequate to answer the questions posed, recall the Christian responsibility for obligations to God, one's fellow man and oneself, mentioned above. Demanding of ourselves, we sometimes forget our civic obligations, and also the Christian way of life, which requires giving of oneself. In this we oppose our individualistic world to the human brotherhood around us and violate the Gospel of Christ.

Thus, for brotherly fraternity, which sets certain good purposes before us, it is necessary to fulfil one's civic obligations in good conscience, which for Christians mean serving their homeland in the name of the love of Christ.

The historical experience of our homeland testifies that the natural duty of patriotism is never turned among us into nationalistic chauvinism, into something hostile in the extreme to other peoples and states. Rather the reverse: higher has been the consciousness of belonging to the family of our own people, the greater has been the endeavour of our fellow countrymen to understand the surrounding world, to help for others, to serve our brothers beyond the limits of national and state borders. Our patriotism has often turned into self-sacrifice, hence the struggle for peace from the position of patriotism in the past and in the present. But at the same time, for us, people of today, as for our fathers and grandfathers, the struggle for peace has not meant and does not mean a weaker position of our own positions to the detriment of our people and state—quite the contrary! We wish in the state of peace that we create in the consciousness of our own strength and righteousness, other peoples and states to gain strength and firmness for a better and more perfect world for the good of each and all together.

In this regard, we should mention our commission and support for the Chilean people, who are experiencing a tragedy that can be called a tragedy of democracy in our century. There is no need to recall what has transpired in Chile—it is enough simply to note that political reac-

as attacked democratic reforms that took place in the country under the leadership of the lawfully elected President, Dr. Salvador Allende. We are observing there at present a reign of violence and terror, executions of political opponents of the regime, overflowing concentration camps, a return to the former system of enslavement of the people by national and foreign capital. The progress begun in days so recently past has not only stopped but been turned back, and this disturbs all progressive humanity. The political changes undertaken by force, contrary to the will of the people, in contradiction to everything that is connected with the understanding of democracy, are disturbing in themselves. But the political context and political consequences of the Chilean tragedy are even more disturbing, for they are dangerous not only for the Chilean people but for all other countries of the world. The background of the Chilean events is imperialism, which actively combats progressive reforms in Latin America. The political consequences for the Chilean people and for other peoples seeking to set themselves on their own socio-economic foundation and undertaking political actions to this end—either through democratic reforms or through revolution—are clear: imperialism will try to arrest the progress and will not hesitate to throw history back by force; the world has seen with its own eyes the shameless trampling of democracy by measures of bloody violence, after which discourse on the right to self-determination and on civil freedoms, so generously declaimed by the defenders of "Western democracy" and, as a rule, seeking flaws in socialist reforms, become demagogy.

Sympathizing with all our heart with the suffering of the Chilean people, we think at the same time of the integrity and security of our homeland, of the inviolability of the socio-political reforms achieved in it. For that reason, when we speak of our civic responsibility in the struggle for peace, justice and progress, we affirm that it consists in strengthening our homeland, in witnessing to the whole world what is positive in our homeland, in self-discipline, in perfect fulfilment of our obligations, and this will without questions lead, too, to a better guarantee of rights and, best of all, will secure international peace.

The Russian Orthodox Church Supports the Programme of Peace of the Soviet Union

On the strength of the arguments adduced above, the programme of peace proclaimed and

consistently carried out by the Soviet Government finds support both among believers and in various actions by the Church leadership.

The Holy Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1971, noting "the active and many-sided labours of Patriarch Aleksiy, the Holy Synod and all the Russian Orthodox Church in their service to contemporary man," decreed: "To consider the continuation and intensification of peacemaking activities a sacred task of the Russian Orthodox Church, bearing in mind that peace in the world is inseparably connected with the harmonious development of all the peoples, with friendly relations among nations based on their equality and self-determination, with international cooperation in cultural, economic, scientific and political fields, with the consolidation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social systems..." The decree of the Council further stated: "The Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, in the name of its members (bishops, clergy and laymen), all citizens of the Soviet Union, then expressed their unanimous approval and that of all those Russian believers whom they represent at the Council, of the efforts the Government of the USSR is making to ensure the all-round development of the life of the Soviet people and the establishment of a lasting and just international peace. The bishops, clergy and laymen of the Russian Orthodox Church, true patriots all, will work conscientiously for the benefit of their great Motherland" (Decisions of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, *JMP*, 1971, No. 1, pp. 4-6).

Thus, the highest sanction of the Local Church reaffirms the path that has long been followed by Russian Orthodoxy in the service of peace. The Russian Orthodox Church not only approves the programme of peace of the Soviet Union, she actively supports it. It is sufficient to look at the Church press to see the peacemaking activity of the Russian Orthodox Church at different levels and by different means: speeches by His Holiness, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Pimen, on the paramount questions of international peace, reports and articles by outstanding hierarchs and theologians, reports on the participation of Church delegations at various sessions devoted to the defence of peace, notes on the work of representatives of the Church in the Soviet Peace Committee, in the Soviet Peace Fund and in other social organizations, as well as notices of the awarding to Church figures of honorary testimonials and medals for their peacemaking activity, and so on. All these are in fulfilment of the decisions

of the Council with respect to the defence of peace. Widely known, too, is the activity in defence of peace of His Eminence Nikodim, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, permanent member of the Holy Synod, President of the Christian Peace Conference, which encompasses the Christian champions of peace throughout the world.

However, there is no lack of testimony to the ever mobilized "spiritual forces of the Orthodox citizens of our country for the achievement of even more majestic goals that face our society and Motherland," including the goal of the international peace, coexistence and cooperation (cf. Archbishop Pitirim, "50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *JMP*, 1972, No. 12, p. 39). This testimony is above all the Church's constant prayer for peace throughout the world; in the selfless labour of believers, members of the Church, for the good of their Motherland, which, so we believe, also serves the good of the whole world.

The positive, creative role of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy shows clearly in the improvement of the international climate that has recently been taking place. The conclusion of treaties and agreements between the USSR and the leading capitalist powers, the development of cooperation between states, especially between the Soviet Union and the United States, the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations, the continuation of the Vienna talks on the limitation of armed forces and armaments in Europe, the Conference on European Security and Cooperation that is continuing in Geneva, the positive proposals made at the last session of the United Nations, including the project proposed by the Soviet Union on reducing the armaments of the leading countries of the world by 10 per cent and the use of the resources freed for the needs of the countries of the Third World—all these are landmarks of positive development that the believing people of our country cannot but welcome. We hope that the bastions of conflicts, which are attempting to maintain themselves, will be levelled by the growing wave of universal approval of the policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and cooperation, that they will fall, undermined by the constancy of the programme of peace, in which our Motherland leads.

The World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow added its important word to the cause of the progressive development of humanity on the

basis of peace and cooperation. In the general chorus of support for the programme of peace the voice of the Russian Orthodox Church also sounded, "in her sacred task of peacemaking...one with all our people and all men of good will" (Message of Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, of June 6, 1971).

In May, 1973, the Committee for the Continuation of Work of the Christian Peace Conference addressed a message to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. N. Kosygin. It said in part: "We would like to express to you, and in your person, to the Government of the Soviet Union, our understanding and support of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR, which is reflected in the very diverse initiatives steadily undertaken by the Soviet State and implemented at all levels of international life and which are a component part of the truly broad and realistic Peace Programme which has won worldwide recognition and approval" (*JMP*, 1973, No. 7, p. 39).

These words define the Christian approach to and estimation of the policy of the Soviet State for the establishment of peace among nations, a policy that provides good soil for the cooperation of all people of good will, regardless of their world views, for the good of the world in harmony and unanimity, in the consciousness of the community of interests and joint responsibility for the fate of nations and for the future of our planet. This approach responds to the glad tidings of the angel: *Gloria to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men* (Lk. 2. 14).

**NIKOLAY ZABOLOTSKY, Professor
at the Leningrad Theological Academy**

25 Years of the World Peace Movement

On April 16, 1974, in the October Hall of the House of Trade Unions a meeting took place in Moscow public figures dedicated to this solemn occasion—the 25th anniversary of the first World Congress of Peace Forces. His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, took part in the meeting.

On April 17, in the Central House of Journalists an evening dedicated to the same event was held. Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, Chairman of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate, was among those present.



In the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye in Sofia

The session of the World Peace Council which was held from February 16 to 19, 1974, in the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia, was a great event and a striking manifestation of the recent successes of the peace movement.

On February 15, 1974, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia arrived in Sofia from Moscow as a member of the World Peace Council, accompanied by his secretary Archpriest Matthew Stadniouk. The news of the arrival in Sofia of His Holiness was greeted with joy by the Bulgarian Orthodox Sister Church and the Bulgarian public.

His Holiness Maksim, Patriarch of Bulgaria, members of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Church and other officials were at the airport in Sofia to meet the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church. The meeting at the airport was cordial and fraternal. After mutual greetings, the guests and those who had come to meet them set off for the Grand Hotel "Sofia". In the entrance of the hotel His Holiness Patriarch Pimen was met by members of the parish council and parishioners of the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye. With sincere emotion and joy they thronged round His Holiness the Patriarch to be blessed by him and to present him with bouquets of fresh flowers.

On February 16, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia and His Holiness Maksim, Patriarch of Bulgaria, attended the All-Night Vigil at the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye, accompanied by Metropolitan Iankraty of Stara Zagora and Archpriest Matthew Stadniouk. The church was filled with worshippers who had come to express their love and respect for His Holiness Patriarch Pimen. To the peal of bells the Patriarchs were met at the entrance to the church by Metropolitans Parlaam of Plovdiv and Filaret of Vidin. On behalf of the parish council and the sisterhood of the church O. Samozdra welcomed His Holiness Patriarch Pimen and presented him with an offering of bread and salt as the emblem of Russian hospitality. In the church the Patriarchs were greeted by the General Secretary of

the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Church, Archimandrite Dometian, Archpriest A. Tyshchuk, Archpriest M. Lulchev, Archdeacon F. Ivanov and Archdeacon V. Velyanov. After one of the archdeacons had proclaimed "Wisdom", the choir, under the direction of Father D. Konstantinov, sang "From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same". During the singing of the troparion to St. Nicholas the Miracle-Worker, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen and His Holiness Patriarch Maksim proceeded into the church and mounted the ambo, from which His Holiness Patriarch Pimen blessed all who came forth while the choir sang "Ton despoten..."

The secretary of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, Archpriest Matthew Stadniouk, began the celebration of the festal All-Night Vigil assisted by both archdeacons.

At the conclusion of festal Vespers the Dean of the Podvorye, Archpriest Arkadiy Tyshchuk, addressed a word of welcome to His Holiness Patriarch Pimen. He congratulated him on his arrival in the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia. He spoke about the life of the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye, which for Russian people living in Sofia is, as it were, a small part of the Russian Orthodox Church, a small part of their great Soviet Motherland, and serves to further deepen and strengthen the fraternal love between the Russian and Bulgarian Churches, between our peoples and countries. Concluding his speech of welcome, Archpriest Arkadiy Tyshchuk thanked His Holiness for the great joy he was affording to all the parishioners by his visit. At the same time he cordially thanked His Holiness Maksim, Patriarch of Bulgaria and the Most Reverend Metropolitans, members of the Holy Synod, who by their visit and by joining them in prayer had made the occasion doubly joyful for all who took part.

Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia addressed the believers with a speech of gratitude and exhortation. His Holiness said that he had come to Sofia for a session of the World Peace Council and expressed his sincere gratitude to

the Bulgarian people, to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Primate Patriarch Maksim for the hearty and hospitable welcome they had accorded all those who had arrived for the session. He also thanked the parish council and parishioners for their cordiality and for the bread and salt—a symbol of Russian hospitality—by which they had expressed their esteem and respect. His Holiness emphasized that he was glad to see believers in such numbers and wanted to tell them that they should love the church of God and always hasten to it in joy and in sorrow. For only in the church of God, through faith and prayer could they receive the grace and the succour of God which are so essential to every believing man. Here, in the church, the Christian must prepare himself during the entire span of his earthly life for the life thereafter. Quite recently, said His Holiness, we celebrated the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. This Feast, called in Russian the Meeting of the Lord, is symbolic of the meeting between man and God. All of us were born and know the day of our birth. And subsequently we received the Sacrament of Baptism. Then we did not meet the Lord face to face, but this meeting will take place, and will take place for each one of us. For all of us this meeting with the Lord will be at His Second Coming in Glory. St. Paul

says, "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

To the singing of "Ton despoten...", His Holiness Patriarch Pimen gave the worshippers patriarchal blessing and, together with His Holiness Maksim, Patriarch of Bulgaria, left to take part in the work of the session.

The visit to the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye by Their Holinesses the Patriarchs of Moscow and All Russia and of Bulgaria was an expression of the sincere good feeling between the two Sister Churches and between our peoples, which year after year is growing deeper and fuller. The clergy, members of the parish council and parishioners of the Russian St. Nicholas Church Podvorye who had the great joy of welcoming the Patriarchs and receiving their blessing will continue to serve wholeheartedly the great cause of fraternal Bulgarian-Russian friendship.

Archpriest ARKADIY TYSHCHUK
Dean of the Russian St. Nicholas
Church Podvorye in Sofia

Sofia, Bulgaria

The Presov Orthodox Theology Faculty

Orthodox education in Czechoslovakia cannot boast very long historical traditions despite the fact that it was in this part of the world that spiritual enlightenment of the Slavs was inaugurated by Saints Cyril and Methodius, Equal to the Apostles, the founders of the first Slav ecclesiastical college, at the time of the Great Moravian State in the 9th century. It was only after the Second World War, when Orthodox believers of different nationalities in Czechoslovakia—Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Russians and others—united to form the Exarchate of the Moscow Patriarchate and then the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia, that the opportunity arose to establish an ecclesiastical college there. Two years of work by the Theological Seminary, first in Karlovy Vary, then in Prague, paved the way for the establishment of an independent higher ecclesiastical college—the Orthodox Theology Faculty in the picturesque East Slovak town of Prešov in 1950. The reorganization of the seminary into a higher educational institution was made possible by new laws on the Church in the Czechoslovak Re-

public in 1950, which guaranteed equal rights for all Churches in all walks of life. This had a favourable influence in the field of theological education, particularly in the organization of theological colleges. And so the Orthodox ecclesiastical college at Prešov has been in existence for almost a quarter of a century. From the very outset it has had many difficult tasks to face. The acute shortage of clergy in the initial stages of its existence, and especially after 1950, when a number of former Unitarian priests left their flock following its reunification with Orthodoxy, naturally determined the character of ecclesiastical education. The parishioners expected new pastors trained in the spirit of Orthodoxy and aware of local traditions and the needs of a people who had suffered for many centuries in difficult social conditions under a spiritual and physical yoke.

The methods of teaching theological subjects at the Prešov theological college in this initial stage of its existence were also dictated by the practical needs of the Church. Besides the preservation of tradition in ecclesiastical education there

shortage of fully qualified teaching personnel. One of the deans of the faculty said of this period: "The students learned to study; the teachers learned to teach." In subsequent years, however, this first difficult stage in the life of the ecclesiastical faculty was passed and the Prešov theological college began to create its own experience and traditions in spiritual enlightenment. In this respect it must be noted that the Czechoslovak State authorities and representatives of Churches gave comprehensive assistance to the college. In 1959 the first students to complete the theological course graduated from our college. Subsequent years have seen the graduation of more and more young people from the Prešov theological college: young people ready to devote their knowledge and work to the Church and the people. The teaching staff is constantly striving to raise the standard of ecclesiastical education. Articles and research by its professors appear more and more often in the periodicals of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia. With the help of text-books donated to our college by the Russian Orthodox Church they compile text-books and lecture notes and prepare theological books for the parishes in Czechoslovakia, which are also read with interest and gratitude in other parts of the world. The foundations of a faculty library are slowly being laid from donations by worshippers. The professors' scientific work was at that time mainly aimed at the theological and practical sides of Church life. At the same time the college tries to train future specialists in the field of theology, who in the course of time will supplement the ranks of the professorial and teaching staff. Thanks to the kind invitation of the Mother Church, the Russian Orthodox Church, several students from the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church are studying at the Moscow and Leningrad Theological Academies, whose spiritual and scientific-theological traditions are deeply rooted in ancient universal Orthodoxy. Our ex-students of the Russian academies are at present working in the Prešov faculty: two as professors, one as assistant professor and one as a lecturer.

During this time great strides have been made by our college. The teaching of academic subjects has been organized on a new basis in line with the new spiritual needs of the day. The faculty has not, of course, changed its basic structure, nor relinquished its task of training pastors for God's Church. But it has naturally extended its academic requirements in accordance with the tasks before the modern world and the new problems facing the Church. The staff of the faculty are concerned with the general



Archpriest Dr. Stefan Pruzhinsky

theological problems of universal Orthodoxy outlined by All-Orthodox conferences on Rhodes, the problems of making contacts with Churches close to Orthodoxy, and problems of modern ecumenism in general. One should also draw attention to their untiring work for the preservation and safeguarding of peace throughout the world. The dean of the faculty Dr. Andrej Mihalov participates in the regional work of the Christian peace movement in Czechoslovakia along with members of the professorial and teaching staff. And it is here that the Prešov theological college makes a real contribution to the cause of consolidating peace on the planet.

This first stage in the life of the Prešov theological college and its present scholarly-theological prospects were recalled by the professorial and teaching staff, students and guests on December 6, 1973, when Archpriest Stefan Pruzhinsky, a graduate of the faculty and now a teacher, stood for the degree of Doctor of Theology of the Prešov Orthodox Theology Faculty.

Father Stefan Pruzhinsky was born in 1935. He was educated at the Leningrad Theological Academy from which he graduated in 1960 with the degree of Candidate of Theology for his paper "St. Basil the Great's Study of the Holy Trinity." In his speech Father Stefan recalled with gratitude his years of study at the Leningrad Theological Academy which directed his interest in theology towards patristic theology.

He has been teaching theological subjects at the Orthodox Theology Faculty since 1965 and at the same time serves as a priest in the ancient Slovak town of Levoča. Even in the most difficult years of 1968 and 1969 he did not quit his parish, but supported the faithful who were put under great pressure by Uniate fanatics. The Orthodox of the city of Levoča came through all the trials of that time and the test of their allegiance to Holy Orthodoxy. They even set about repairing the building, including the church with financial aid from the World Council of Churches. Professor Pruzhinsky's work in theology has been even more inspired and purposeful because of this lively contact with the practical side of Church life. Two volumes of lectures on patristics (Vol. I, 206 pages, 1969, Prešov; Vol. II, 276 pages, 1971) which he has published as a guide for students of the faculty is not only of significance in the Orthodox theological medium in Czechoslovakia, but is a fine contribution to the cause of ecumenical mutual understanding. In these lectures the author made use of new information provided by famous experts on patristics. He is one of the editors of "The Orthodox Theological Collection", a periodical published by the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia, about which "The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" has informed its readers. His articles also appear in other Church publications of the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church.

Archpriest Pruzhinsky's principal scholarly interests are focussed on New Testament biblicalistics. A result of his New Testament studies has been his thesis "The Synoptic Gospels in the Light of Modern New Testament Biblicalistics" (230 typed pages), for which he received the degree of Doctor of Theology, granted unanimously. The work, whose theses the author successfully defended, consists of seven main parts. The introduction deals with Christianity and the Christian Church as a Divine Institution founded by the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of man as the New Testament bears witness. The author goes on to focus his attention on the origin of the Synoptic Gospels, their literary forms and historical authenticity. A large part of the work is devoted to theories of the Formgeschichte of Protestant exegesists, the viewpoint of Catholic biblicists on this question and the position of Orthodox theologians (Archpriest S. Bulgakov, Archbishop Ilarion Troitsky,

Professor Archpriest G. Florovsky and others). Then the author expounds his own thoughts on the question. His view is inspired by the classic writers of Orthodox theology — the Holy Fathers of the Church.

For Orthodox theological thought in Czechoslovakia the work of Doctor Stefan Pruzhinsky is a considerable enrichment and, at the same time, a guide for its young theologians in dialogue with their Western colleagues.

In their welcoming address to the author, the Beatitude Metropolitan Dorotej of Prague and All Czechoslovakia and Archbishop Nikolaj of Prešov wished him and the Prešov Orthodox Theology Faculty where he now holds the position of assistant dean, God's help in future scholarly, theological, pastoral and pedagogical work, and in bearing witness to the faith and spiritual experience of Orthodoxy.

Archpriest PAVEL ALEŠ, doctor of Theology,
of the Prešov Orthodox Theology Faculty

ORTHODOX CHURCH NEWS

The Church of Alexandria. Apart from the Alexandrian metropolitanate the Church has 10 metropolitanates in Egypt and one each in South Africa, the Sudan, Libya, Zaire, Cameroon, Rhodesia, Ethiopia and Kenya. In all there are seven Vicar Bishops, including one each in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Most of the 45 priests and 5 deacons serving in the East African metropolitanates are married. The majority of them earn their living from raising cattle. Kenya now has 13 parishes, 13 of them in Kenya itself, 2 in Tanzania and 2 in Uganda. In addition there are a number of ecclesiastical colleges of various kinds. The seminary now being constructed from funds donated by Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus will accommodate 180 students. There is, however, something of a shortage of educated monks. At present Tanzania has an estimated 60,000 catechumens.

In West Africa there are up to 200,000 local habitants who have been recently converted to Orthodoxy.

The Bulgarian Church. On New Year's Day 1974, His Holiness Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria gave the New Year's greeting in the St. Alexander Nevsky Patriarchal Cathedral in Sofia. His Holiness gave a brief summary of the results of his visit to the Sister Local Orthodox Church in Sofia. His Holiness also noted that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church holds a special place amongst the ranks of supporters of the peace movement throughout the world.



Crete Meeting of the CEC Presidium— Preparations for the "Nyborg-VII" Assembly

The Russian Orthodox Church's delegation to the current session of the Presidium of the Conference of European Churches which took place on Crete in March and April 1974 had the additional opportunity to make friendly contacts with her Orthodox Sister Churches of Constantinople and Hellas. The delegation under the leadership of Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia, who is a member of the Holy Synod and the Chancellor of the Moscow Patriarchate, were the guests while in Greece of His Eminence Eugeios, the Archbishop of Crete, and of His Eminence Seraphim, head of the Hellenic Church, Archbishop of Athens and of All Hellas. Personal contact with these archbishops allowed them to discuss several problems concerning Orthodoxy and to hold a common viewpoint on the part taken by the local Orthodox Churches in the work of the Conference of European Churches.

There is a considerable Russian Orthodox community in Athens, centred upon the Russian Church of St. Nicodemus in the centre of the city. Archimandrite Timotheos, rector of the parish, gives his attention not only to his flock but also to the question of keeping close the ties between his Athenian parish, now under the jurisdiction of the Hellenic Archbishopric, and the Mother Church, the Russian Orthodox. Besides the aforementioned church, the community also has a home for old people with its own church of St. Seraphim of Sarov. The rector of this church is a monk from Athos and belongs to a brotherhood of Athos monks in the small Skete of the Paracletos near the island of Euboea. The hegumen of the skete, Starets

Schema-Archimandrite Cherubimos, and a small group of educated monks from the brotherhood including Archimandrite Timotheos have devoted themselves to a cause of great importance in our age: that of publishing *The Lives* of contemporary ascetics on Athos, which will serve to strengthen and support the Holy Mountain as the centre of monastic activity for all the Orthodox Churches. In this way the Russian community in Athens is inspired in its prayers and its work by the spirit of Athos, by that devotion of heart and mind with which the Holy Mountain has long attracted Russians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Romanians and Greeks who saw in this place of peace and prayer the special territory of the Mother of God and the threshold of the halls of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is obvious from all this that while in Greece the delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church was in contact with Russians of not only the same blood but also of the same faith and the same spiritual outlook. On Sunday, March 24, we attended Divine Liturgy in the splendid Athenian church, and then visited the home which is charming in its atmosphere of peace and comfort, with a church in the Russian style, a garden rich in flowers, and rooms for the inhabitants who are evident witness to the fact that Russians, wherever they live, treasure something of their Motherland within themselves to give them support and inspiration.

Archimandrite Meletios and Father Stephan Anvamideis, representing the Hellenic Archbishopric, gave Metropolitan Aleksiy an invitation when they met on Sunday, March 24, from His Eminence Seraphim, Archbishop of Athens and the new head of the

Hellenic Church, to visit him for talks. This meeting took place after the session of the Presidium, when the delegation was on its way home to Moscow via Athens and Sofia and was met by these two representatives of the Archbishopric. The members were given a warm reception by His Eminence Archbishop Seraphim. It should be added that on the day before the visit to the Archbishopric the numbers of the delegation were swelled by Archimandrite Abel, of the brotherhood of the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on the Holy Mountain, who was travelling home for health reasons. Father Abel's account of the increasing scarcity of Russian monasteries on Athos because of the obstacles put by the Greek authorities in the path of replenishing them with monks from Russia prompted Metropolitan Aleksiy to put the question of whether he could not help Russian monks enter Greece to Archbishop Seraphim of Athens. The problem of replenishing the monasteries on Athos which is due to the mountain's peculiar status must be solved as soon as possible; and the help of the Athenian Archbishopric, as well as the goodwill of the Constantinople Patriarchate, play an important part. The Holy Mountain must not be allowed to lose its significance for Orthodoxy and for the whole Christian world. Greek monks, not only "zealots," actively against secular interference in Church affairs, but also the "politicians" who are prepared to serve the interests of the Greek state, are well aware that Athos can be preserved only if it remains as before an international monastic centre and if Slav monks are allowed to replenish the ranks of their brotherhoods. The Russian Orthodox Church is unanimous in her view on this question. In the letters of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia and His Holiness Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria about Athos (see *JMP*, 1973, No. 12, p. 6) are expressed the hopes of the faithful in Russia and Bulgaria that they should be allowed to have monks on the Holy Mountain praying as they always have, for their people and for the Slav lands in comradeship with the Greek inhabitants of Athos, and to be able to

send devout pilgrims to the Mountain. This is, and will evidently continue to be, a problem for Athens, Constantinople and the whole of Orthodoxy.

The arrival of the Russian Orthodox delegation to Crete coincided with the Feast of the Annunciation, according to the New-Style calendar, and with the Greek Independence Day. The Solemn Liturgy was celebrated on March 25 in the cathedral of the town of Khania, in which the ninety-year-old starets, Metropolitan Nicephoros of Cydonia and Apocoron, the local hierarch, Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia and Bishop Anton of Ploesti (Romanian Orthodox Church) all took part. After the Liturgy, in the presence of the members of the CEC Presidium, many of the faithful and representatives of the Greek authorities, Metropolitan Nicephoros welcomed the hierarchs who had celebrated the Liturgy with him and the other guests who had come for the feast to Khania. In their speech of reply Metropolitan Aleksiy and Bishop Antonie expressed their good wishes to the people of Greece for the Feast of the Annunciation to the Holy Mother of God and for the Greek National Holiday. In the name of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen the head of the Russian delegation presented Metropolitan Nicephoros with a panagya which brought forth a spontaneous peal of the bells and the joyful approval of all those in the cathedral. In the afternoon those taking part in the work of the Presidium gathered in the Monastery of the Odigitria (not far from Khania) on whose land there is an Orthodox ecumenical academy where the sessions were to take place. Archbishop Eugenios of Crete came to open officially this business meeting of the executive organ of the CEC with prayers. After a short prayer those taking part moved over to the building of the academy and here, at the first official session, Archbishop Eugenios pronounced a welcome and read a message from His Holiness Dimitrios Patriarch of Constantinople, written for the event. In his letter His Holiness the Patriarch wrote: "This session of the Presidium of the Conference of European Churches being held in o

Orthodox Academy in Crete gives me the opportunity to send its respected members our best wishes for all success in carrying out the tasks of the Conference—to prepare for the coming assembly and fulfil its most far-reaching aim, to work towards unity of the churches and of the world in Christ. The voice of the Paraclete (the Holy Spirit—*Ed.*), Who in the Epistle of the Apostle James demands that we should be *doers of the word* (Jas. 1. 22), bounds all the more urgently in the hearts of all of us who as Christ's churches were separate and isolated from one another on this our ancient continent that has known the cares of life and difficulties in the world. For this reason we feel a great responsibility that each of us, whatever his ecclesiastical or canonical position or post, should work towards the realization of this aim by the sort of deeds that bear witness to our faith in Christ our Saviour Who is always present in the lives of men. God grant you success in your work."

A speech in answer was given on behalf of the Presidium by Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft, permanent adviser to the Conference, elected chairman of the current meeting. Having thanked His Holiness Patriarch Dimitrios for his message, Dr. Visser't Hooft listed the aims of the Presidium. This was a special meeting, he said, for it was to prepare for the "Nyborg-VII" Assembly at a time when Europe must solve problems of some magnitude under conditions of relatively weak European unity. Dr. Visser't Hooft stressed how important it was that the relationship between Western and Eastern Europe should develop normally and that the talks taking place in Geneva (on European security and cooperation—*W. Z.*) give rise to hope that Europeans can learn to live together. We must overcome our differences and unite the forces of Europe, and the task of the Conference of European Churches is to work from the point of view of the Christian faith towards uniting the forces of the continent not only in words but in deeds also.

The session of the Presidium thus begun continued under the constant presence of Archbishop Eugenios, represen-

ted by the director of the academy, Mr. Paraderos, the rector of the seminary in Khania, Archimandrite Ireneos and other members of the Cretan Church. On one of the days of work at the academy there was a reception attended by Mr. A. Angelopoulos, General Director for matters of religion in the Greek Ministry of Education, who greeted the Presidium. After the work was over Archbishop Eugenios proposed that the participants should visit Herakleion. The delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church was honoured by special treatment. When they arrived at Herakleion on Friday, March 29, Metropolitan Aleksiy and the members of his delegation, together with Bishop Antonie, paid a visit to Archbishop Eugenios in his residence. Then the delegation was present in the cathedral of the Archbishopric for the akathistos to the Mother of God celebrated as solemnly as the Russian Orthodox Church celebrates on the day of Praise to the Holy Mother of God. The next day there was a visit for all to the sights of Crete, to the palaces of Knossos and Phaestos, examples of Cretan-Mycenaean culture, that were built four thousand years ago; the ruins of the ancient Church of the Apostle Titus, the early capital of Crete, Gortys, where the last bishop before the destruction of the church was St. Andrew of Crete, who created the Great Canon; and one of the centres of the Cretan Archbishopric's social work, at Myra, in the former Monastery of the Kaliviani Mother of God. These excursions gave a very vivid picture of the history of Crete and of the Cretan Church, bringing to life what we had read or heard about them and, most important, taught us about the state of the Church and the people of Crete in the present day.

On Sunday, March 31, the solemn Liturgy was celebrated in the cathedral of the Archbishopric by Archbishop Eugenios, Metropolitan Aleksiy and Bishop Antonie. In his speech of reply to the welcome of Archbishop Eugenios, Metropolitan Aleksiy presented the head of the Cretan Church with a panagia in the name of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen. For his part the archbishop gave Patriarch Pimen and Patriarch Justinian of Romania icons

depicting St. Titus the Apostle. After the Liturgy Archbishop Eugenios gave a reception in honour of the members of the Presidium which was attended by military and civil officials of the island. Archbishop Eugenios and Dr. G. G. Williams, CEC General Secretary, exchanged speeches during the meal. In the evening the archbishop showed the guests over boarding schools under the protection of the Archbishopric, and himself accompanied the delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church to the airport. From there the delegation set off for Athens where it was received, as we have said, by Archbishop Seraphim.

This was the background against which the meeting of the Presidium of the Conference of European Churches took place in Crete.

The Orthodox Academy of Crete, where the session took place, is an unusual institution. It is not intended for regular study, but is more of a religious centre. Its creation was initiated by Metropolitan Ireneos of Kissamos and Selinon, now Metropolitan of Germany, based in Bonn, and Exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Central Europe. His close collaborator in the organization of the academy was its present director, Mr. Papaderos. The academy was built with the help of funds received through the Department of Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches. Its aims are the following: to heighten the educational level of the clergy, to study economic, social and other problems in the spirit of the Orthodox tradition, to support the Orthodox mission and to give technical and economic aid towards the development of Crete. These general aims are realized by different means and on different levels. The Orthodox tradition is applied, for instance, to solving contemporary problems; seminars are held for priests and laymen on question of contemporary structures; youth work is carried on by means of student conferences; on the agenda are problems relating to the family and everyday life, in particular the position of woman; there are social debates with contributions from universities; and discussions are held on various problems relating to the development

of Crete. The academy has a model farm, where various experiments are carried out and discussed, a scientific nursery for new kinds of olives, and a system of greenhouses quite new in Crete. The academy was the inspiration in the organization of steamship lines (there are now four comfortable ferries linking Crete with the mainland) and is working for a renaissance of the national theatre, with four theatres built already. It organizes various conferences for foreigners, with more than 156 held in the last five years. One can see that the work of the academy, reflecting the interests of the Cretan Church, takes place over a wide scale of activities. While the Presidium was meeting, for instance, the academy was also host to a large group of West German theologians for whom, at the request of the director Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft, Bishop Antonie and Professor Nikolay Zabolotsky gave a lecture on Orthodoxy in the context of ecumenism. This is a part of the programme of the academy which its leadership would like to expand by making direct contact with the theological centres of learning in the USSR and by inviting theological groups from the Russian Orthodox Church to take part in ecumenical work in Crete.

The content of the work of the Presidium is reflected in the press communiqué which we print here with our comments:

"The Presidium of the Conference of European Churches today¹ concluded a three-day meeting at the Orthodox Academy of Crete. Present were Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn, USSR; Bishop Antonie (representing Metropolitan Justin), Romania; Bishop Ernő Ottlyk, Hungary; Dr. Teofil Santi, Italy and Bishop Roger Wilson, United Kingdom. Prof. Nikolay Zabolotsky, Leningrad, was present as consultant. In the absence of Präses Ernst Wilm, Federal Republic of Germany, the chairman of the Presidium it was unanimously decided to invite Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft, representing Dr. Pieter Kunst and permanent adviser to the CEC, to act as chairman of the meeting.²

"The main item of business was concerned with the furthering of prepar-

ons for the forthcoming seventh Assembly of the Conference of European Churches to be held at Engelberg, Switzerland, from 16th to 23rd September, 1974. The theme of the Assembly 'Act on the Message—Unity in Christ and Peace in the World'.³

"It was confirmed that the main address will be given by President Dr. Helmuth Hild, head of the Evangelical Church of Hessen and Nassau, Federal Republic of Germany. A supplementary address on the main theme expected from Prof. Laszlo Pakozdy, Professor of Old Testament at the Reformed Theological Academy, Budapest, Hungary. Bible studies will be held on alternate days by Father Cyrille Gentis, Marseille, (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and Prof. Nikos Nissiotis (Church of Greece).⁴ The programme has been so structured as to provide ample time for discussion and exchange of views in the two main sections and even sub-sections.⁵ Preparatory documentation for the Assembly is expected to be published towards the end of April.⁶ A total of about 400 participants is expected at the Assembly,⁷ the main legislative body of the CEC. Over 100 Churches in 24 countries are now in full membership with the European regional ecumenical body.⁸

"Reflecting on the guide-lines for work after the Nyborg-VII assembly, the Presidium agreed that the main emphasis should include new methods and the intensification of study work, inter-Church and peace problems, closer direct contact between the conference and the member-Churches, the continuation and deepening of contacts and conversations with the Roman Catholic Church, and the possibility of involvement in internal European inter-Church aid activities.⁹

"In his report the General Secretary, Dr. Glen Garfield Williams, surveyed developments on the European international scene, which provided the framework for the activity of the CEC. Whilst acknowledging the existence of many unresolved problems, he noted the improved climate in international relationships and that there were signs of positive results being produced by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Churches should encourage the completion of this vitally important work.¹⁰

"Application from the Methodist Church and the United Reformed Church in England and Wales for direct membership of the Conference were accepted.¹¹

"The meeting noted with satisfaction the positive results of the European Churches' Emergency Fund for Ireland which was now administered by a joint Protestant-Roman Catholic committee for purposes of reconciliation.¹² They authorised an intensification of this activity.

"Amongst other business dealt with by the Presidium were questions of furthering practical relationships with other ecumenical bodies,¹³ especially the World Council of Churches, the Council of European Bishops' Conferences (Roman Catholic) and the Christian Peace Conference.¹⁴ It also noted the importance for the discussion of peace problems of the World Congress of Peace Forces, held in October 1973, and agreed to follow the future development of their work.

"This was the first occasion of a meeting of an official CEC body in Greece and within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. After a special doxology in the nearby monastery, the meeting was opened by His Eminence Eugenios, Archbishop of Crete, who, as representative of His All Holiness Dimitrios I, the Ecumenical Patriarch, read a letter of cordial greetings from the Patriarch.

"The Presidium also visited and highly commended the many-sided and far-sighted activity, initiated by the then Bishop Ireneos of Kissamos (now Metropolitan Ireneos of Bonn), founder of the Orthodox Academy of Crete, which is now mainly responsible for the continuation of social, agricultural and educational activities.

"At the conclusion of the meeting the participants were received by the Archbishop of Crete in Herakleion and attended the Liturgy in the cathedral."

The text of the communique is a fair reflection of what went on in Khania. It needs, however, a few further explanations.

The Presidium passed the following resolution on the subject:

—“The Presidium of the Conference of European Churches, having heard the report of Dr. Hans Ruh who was present as an observer on behalf of the General Secretary at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow (October 25-31, 1973), and having been informed of the content of the Communiqué of the Congress,

—stresses the importance of the opportunity created by this event to discuss problems of peace;

—approves the action of the General Secretary in sending Dr. Ruh to be present in his name;

—expresses its thanks to Dr. Ruh for carrying out this task and preparing a report;

—notes with satisfaction that the Congress is mentioned in the preparatory booklet for “Nyborg-VII”; and

—requests the General Secretary to follow the future development of the work of the Congress and invests him with the right to take whatever action is fit to ensure that the CEC be as well represented as possible.”

This, then, was the work of the Presidium of the CEC in Crete.

Metropolitan Aleksiy and those accompanying him left Greece on April 3, 1974.

This report on the visit of the Russian Orthodox delegation to Greece would be incomplete without recalling the friendly fatherly reception which they were given by Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria. His Holiness the Patriarch received Metropolitan Aleksiy and the other members of the delegation, as well as Archimandrite Abel, at his residence, and at a friendly meal they discussed questions of concern to the Church's community in both Russia and Bulgaria.

When they returned to Moscow Metropolitan Aleksiy's report on the work of the Presidium in Crete was heard at the meeting of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church which took place on April 5. Earlier the Holy Synod had announced the members of the delegation to partake in the “Nyborg-VII” Assembly on behalf of the Russian Orthodox Church, which must now make an effort to prepare for the suc-

cess of this current forum of Churches of Europe. There is no doubt whatsoever that children of the Russian Orthodox Church will support with their prayers and good wishes all positive developments in the Conference of European Churches, especially those leading to Christian unity and peace on the continent of Europe.

Professor NIKOLAY ZABOLTSKY
Member of the CEC Advisory Committee

COMMENTARY

¹ The work of the Presidium finished on May 29 and summed up a whole series of advance meetings for Presidium members, the Advisory Committee, two permanent working groups (the Ecumenical and the Peace Groups), the Preparatory Theological Commission and the Planning Committee. The General Secretary of the CEC, Dr. G. G. Williams has been asked to clear up a few details before the last meeting of the Presidium and the Advisory Committee, which will take place immediately before the “Nyborg-VII” Assembly, on September 13-15 of this year in the town of Engelberg.

² The Russian Orthodox Church was also represented by B. B. Vik, working in the DECR. In spite of the depleted numbers of the Presidium (the President of the CEC, Präses Ernst Wilm, absent from Khania for family reasons, Metropolitan Justin of Moldova and Suceava because he was attending a session of the Great National Assembly of the Romanian People's Republic, Dr. Pieter Kunst because of important Church delegations that had arrived in Holland), the meetings were successful. The chairman should have been Metropolitan Aleksiy, as Vice-President of the Presidium and the Advisory Committee, but as he had opened the advance meeting he asked to be replaced. The “Nyborg-VII” Assembly is expected to bring changes in the personnel of the executive organs of the CEC. The following are to be re-elected to the Presidium: Bishop Ernő Ottlyk, Hungary, Dr. Teofilo Santi, Italy, Präses Ernst Wilm, West Germany and Bishop Roger Wilson, United Kingdom; and the Advisory Committee: Bishop Antonie of Ploesti, Romania, Pastor Corvilon, Spain, Metropolitan Emilianos of Constantinople Patriarchate, Frau Dr. F. von Engel, FRG, Pastor A. O. Mitskevich, USSR, Pastor I. Narzhinsky, Poland, Bishop K. Sainsbury, United Kingdom, Pastor D. Shive, GDR, Dr. W. Ziegler, Switzerland, Pastor A. Seppane, Finland, President Dr. A. Wischmann, FRG. The representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church—Metropolitan Aleksiy (Presidium), Professor N. A. Zaboltsky

ky and Docent K. M. Komarov (in place of the deceased P. S. Sokolovsky) keep their powers as members of the Advisory Committee until the "Nyborg-VIII" Assembly.

³ The theme of the coming CEC General Assembly, based upon a text from the Epistle of the apostle James "be ye doers of the word" (Jas. 1, 22), assumes that the duty of a Christian is not only to heed the lessons of the Gospels, but, first and foremost, to fulfil the divine commandments in this world. In this way, the first half demonstrates the indivisible unity of the two dimensions of the Christian life: the vertical, directed towards God, and the horizontal, of serving our neighbour. Both demand activity. In the second half this unity is made concrete in the assertion that the Churches of Europe must constantly be seeking unity in Christ's precepts (Jn. 17, 11, 21), and creating peace in the world in which they live (Mt. 5, 9).

⁴ The Planning Committee saw to it that the leadership of the coming Assembly should correspond geographically and "confessionally" to the representation of Churches in the Conference. It was also seen to that the voice of Orthodoxy should ring out louder at "Nyborg-VII" than it has in the past. This is why it was decided that the main address should be given by a representative of the West, the supplementary, by a representative of the East, and the Bible studies—by two Orthodox theologians. The Presidium also decided to recommend candidates for election as chairman and vice-chairman of the Assembly: named were Professor Pertti Pessonen, Finland, Bishop Antonie of Ploesti, Romania, and Pastor Walter Grist, Switzerland. Places must correspondingly be filled in the leadership of the sections, subsections and committees of the Assembly (the final decision resting with the Assembly itself).

⁵ The themes for discussion by sections and subsections arise out of the content of the Preparatory Document, worked out by the Preparatory Theological Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Nadya, Hungary. With a title corresponding to the main theme of the Assembly, the document is subdivided as follows: Ch. 1. General introduction to the theme; Ch. 2. Biblical studies (structure and method, aims, organization, the studies themselves, corresponding to texts chosen for each day); Ch. 3. Unity in Christ (Subdivisions: 1. The preaching of the Gospels and confessional differences in contemporary Europe, The challenge to European theology from without and within, 3. Socio-ethical challenges, 4. Ecumenical ways and methods); Ch. 4. Peace in the world (Subdivisions: 1. The divine peace—peace for man, 2. The Churches within the context of the tensions of contemporary Europe, 3. The peace is

indivisible, 4. Concrete efforts on the part of the Churches for peace in the process of easing tension, 5. The Churches and the Conference on European Security and Cooperation); Ch. 5. Forwards from "Nyborg-VII".... From this we see that two of the basic sections of the Assembly's work will bear the titles "Unity in Christ" and "Peace in the World." The subsections will correspondingly bear the names of the subdivisions of the chapters of the Preparatory Document.

⁶ The documents of the Assembly will be the Preparatory Document on the main theme, two addresses from consultations made in the period between "Nyborg-VI" and "Nyborg-VII" on the theme of "Jesus Christ in the witness and service of the Churches of contemporary Europe" (Göetis, March 5-9, 1973) and of "The consolidation of peace in Europe—the specific contribution of the Churches" (Engelberg, May 28-June 1, 1973) and two addresses from working groups which met in November 1973 in Buckow, GDR. All this will be published in English, German and French; the Russian translation of the documents, which will be made by the Russian Orthodox Church, will appear later than the date given in the communiqué.

⁷ All those taking part in the Assembly will fall into one of seven groups, each with different statutes: a) delegates, representatives of the Churches that are members of the CEC, b) friendly delegates, c) advisers, d) guests, e) visitors, f) press, g) staff. Only the delegates will have all judicial powers. Friendly delegates and advisers will be able to take part in the sections, but at the plenum will be able to speak only with the permission of the chairman.

⁸ The Russian Orthodox Church has always demanded that the Conference of European Churches be a truly Church organization where all rights belong to the Churches and to their delegates or representatives. Attempts are however sometimes made to bring into the Conference organizations and persons who have no direct relationship to the Churches of Europe, but represent various inter-Church organizations, like the Ecumenical Youth Council of Europe or the World Student Christian Federation. In our view, the wording in the Conference of European Churches' Communiqué, the "European regional ecumenical body," is ambiguous and may give rise to a tendency with which the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church could never agree.

⁹ Looking ahead, the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church would like to see in the activities of the CEC not centralization, on the lines of a European Church headquarters, but more activity on the part of the Churches themselves. However, the suggested introduction of a directorate of study and of a possible increase in the

time between Assemblies as well as certain other things all lead one to suppose that centralization is becoming more and more the case. Will this really be a good thing for the aims which the Conference set itself when it was first formed? Will not new structures, new methods and new responsibilities lead to a change in the character of the Conference? Will not too much centralization and the bringing in of non-Church elements lead to the disintegration of the Conference? One would like to think that the Conference of European Churches will always be a union of the Churches themselves and that we should speak not therefore of "closer and more direct contacts between the Conference and member-Churches," but of closer and more direct contacts between the member-Churches within the body of the Conference; for the Conference is not something separate from its member-Churches.

¹⁰ It has become a tradition for the General Secretary of the Conference of European Churches, in each address to the Presidium or to the Presidium and Advisory Committee, to give a summary of the most important events that have taken place in Europe and of the measures that have been taken by the CEC in conjunction with these events. For many years the CEC supported the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. In 1973, when the World Congress of Peace Forces was taking place in Moscow, the General Secretary sent his personal representative, Dr. Hans Ruh, and empowered him to act on behalf of the CEC. The CEC had already had several meetings with representatives of the Christian Peace Conference with the aim of coordinating action for peace on the continent of Europe. This kind of tradition must without any doubt continue on after the "Nyborg-VII" Assembly, with the CEC entering even more intensively into the matter of solving

the problem of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

¹¹ The Churches of the United Kingdom were represented in the CEC by the British Council Churches. Now they are seeking direct membership which will enlarge the role and the responsibility of the British Churches.

¹² The Emergency Fund for Ireland was created relatively recently as an expression of the European Churches' concern over events in Ulster. At the meeting in Khania some of those taking part raised the question of concrete use being put to the means at the Fund's disposal with the aim of true peace in Northern Ireland, insofar as the term "reconciliation," as we can see from press reports on the actions of the English armed forces in Ireland, is not always used in its true sense. We expect an explanation of the work of the CEC in this respect to come at the "Nyborg-VII" Assembly.

¹³ In practice the relationship between the CEC and various ecumenical organizations must evidently not be looked upon as a kind of partnership in which any plans or recommendations whatsoever could be dictated to the European Churches from without, especially any leading to a change in the statutes of the Conference. We may welcome a coordination of activity, especially where it is a question of serving the cause of peace in Europe, and may agree that an active part should be taken in the CEC by those Church delegates who are also participants in other ecumenical organizations, but that it should go no further than this.

¹⁴ A report on the participation of the CEC at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow and on further action in support of the ideals of the Congress was read in Khania by the General Secretary, Dr. G. G. Williams.

(Continued from p. 74)

tes ist" = Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte I, Tübingen 1932, S. 70.

⁶⁰ Am prägnantesten in einer Weihnachtspredigt am 25. 12. 1515, WA 1, S. 20 ff., Zitat S. 28, 27 f.; CI 5, S. 416, 9 f. Er führt dann — ganz im Sinne des Athanasius — aus, daß wir nicht Gott im strengen Sinne werden, sondern göttlich und teilhaftig der göttlichen Natur (2. Pt. 1, 4), wenn wir das Wort — die zweite Person der Trinität — aufnehmen und durch den Glauben ihm anhängen. Das wird dann mit der unvermischten Annahme der menschlichen Natur durch „das Wort“ und die *communicatio idiomatum* begründet, wofür sich Luther an Petrus Lombardus hält.

⁶¹ So Seeberg II, S. 83.

⁶² W. Maurer, *Die Einheit der Theologie* Luther = ThLZ 75, 1950, Sp. 245—252, vermutet, daß Petrus Lombardus die entscheidende Brücke gebildet hätte. Zumindest für die entsprechende Kreuz- und Osteraussagen schiene mir eine Untersuchung der liturgischen Quellen sinnvoll. Ich bin bei der Vorbereitung dieses Referats hierzu nicht mehr gekommen. Gegen die Gesamtheit des Verhältnisses zwischen Luther und der griechisch-patristischen Theologie durch Maurer wandte sich E. Wolf in dem (Anm. 7) genannten Aufsatz.

⁶³ R. Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* (1944), München 1954.

⁶⁴ R. Schwarz, *Gott ist Mensch. Die Lehre von der Person Christi bei den Ockhamisten und bei Luther* = ZThK 63, 1966, S. 289—351.

⁶⁵ Am prägnantesten wohl in der Schrift gegen Latomus von 1521, *Rationis Latominae Lutherana confutatio*, WA 8, S. 126, 23 ff.

THEOLOGICAL CONVERSATIONS "ARNOLDSHAIN-V"

Between Representatives of the Evangelical Church in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Orthodox Church

in Kirchberg, October 20-28, 1971

MIKHAIL,
Bishop of Astrakhan and Enotayevka

The Truth of the Cross and the Resurrection as Reflected in the Works of St. Athanasius of Alexandria

The Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ are the cornerstone of Christian spiritual life for the Church as a whole and for the individual. As clear from the words of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 2. 2), one can imagine a teacher of Christianity who knows nothing of the Gospels other than that Christ was crucified for him, a sinner, and rose from the dead; but one can not be a Christian except on the basis of the Death and Resurrection of Christ our Saviour, "the salvation for us and ours."¹

Despite their individuality, the four Gospels are, as we know, more similar than different. One of their common features is their gravitation toward the nouement—to the Cross and the resurrection, which take up the last chapters of each of the Gospels. One can say that the entire Gospel story proceeds under the sign of the Cross and the Resurrection. The leitmotif of these events sounded in the souls of the writers of the Holy Writ as they told of events that long preceded the last days of Christ on Earth.

This incomparable and ineffable, sublime and at the same time profoundly intimate, meaning of the Cross and the resurrection provokes in the Christian soul a disposition more to palpitating worship and rapture than to a theological reflex. However, theological thought can only be called theological when it lives and develops, warming with the warmth of internal feeling, when thought obtains from God the potential to act by "hearing faith,"²

reverential contemplation and prayer. The Protestant theologian, H. Vogel, is absolutely correct in saying: "Woe to the theology that proves itself unsuited for confession, that leaves confession to pious jargon and gives itself up to scientific objectivism and thus hammers its own, special nail into the body of the Crucified."³

Because of the boundlessness of this theme and the limitations on time, the reflections offered below are relatively fragmentary. They do not pretend to be systematic or complete.

Approaching the truths designated, with the maximum brevity, in the present colloquy as "The Cross and the Resurrection" with due reverence, we are fortunate to be able to state that the Passion and Death of the Lord Jesus Christ are an historical fact certified by many authors of Holy Writ, a fact that, on the one hand, is inextricably bound up with the universal Christian conception of the Very Person of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2. 6-11), and on the other hand, because of its unexceptionalness for the human condition, is not denied even by the representatives of extreme rationalism and unbelief. The Resurrection of Christ is also an historical fact, witnessed by New Testament writing with no less force than the Death on the Cross. However, because it is supernatural and exceptional, it serves as the touchstone of Christian faith. The boundary between the realms of recognition and non-recognition, conviction and denial, belief and unbelief here

(as is true with respect to many other fundamental Christian truths, too) scarcely coincides with inter-confessional demarcations, but cuts across inter-confessional lines, so that we see convinced Christians, living with the truth of the Resurrection, in all Churches and communions without exception, just as there are everywhere among Christians no small number who doubt and even deny this truth. Christ knew that His Resurrection would be for many a greater stumbling block and temptation than any of the miracles ("signs") he worked, and he indicated that this event had exceptional import and defines faith (Mt. 12. 38-40).

Apologetics is not a part of our task; of greatest significance to us is the heartening fact of the all-Christian, genuinely ecumenical acceptance of the Paschal truth by all Churches and confessions, and, on the individual level, by all believing Christians who recognize that they belong to Christ's Church.

Faith in the truth and historical reality of both facts—the Death on the Cross and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ—are most succinctly and universally expressed in the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. The two creeds are stressed by both Churches here represented (with the exception of the *Filioque* inherited by the Evangelical Lutheran Church from the Roman Catholic—the only divergence between the texts of the *Nicaenum* accepted in East and West).

The Apostles' Creed runs: "I believe... in Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord... Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, dead and buried, descended into hell, and on the third day rose again from the dead..."⁴

And the Nicene Creed: "I believe... in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God... And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate: He suffered and was buried. And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures..."

As we see, the two texts fundamentally coincide, and where they diverge, supplement one another. Thus, the *Apostolicum* states the reality of the Death of the God-Man, the *Nicaenum*

states the reality of His Passion. The truths of burial and Resurrection after three days are presented in almost identical words, the only difference being that the *Nicaenum* refers, as the *Apostolicum* does not, to the "Scriptures," while the *Apostolicum* testifies to the "descent into hell"—an event that, though mentioned in connection with the Death that precedes the descent and the Resurrection that follows it, changes nothing in the perception and understanding of these events.

If one considers that the origin of the *Nicaenum* is connected with the First Ecumenical Council (325 A. D.) while the *Apostolicum* undoubtedly has elements going back to the teaching of the Apostles⁵ (Western tradition places it in the 3rd or even the 2nd century), the identity of the presentation of the truths of the Crucifixion, Death and Resurrection in the two creeds indicates the continuity of Church witness on the matter from the time of the Apostles down to the fixing of these truths in dogma preserved in documents to our own time.

As we know, St. Athanasius of Alexandria participated personally in the Council of Nicaea of 325 A. D., and the statement of the Nicene Creed reflects not only his personal religious beliefs, but may also to a certain degree reflect his personal contribution to the acts of the Council. Athanasius knew and utilized, too, the Creed of St. Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, a creed dating from 260-265 A. D.⁶ St. Athanasius himself is attributed (without any reasonable grounds, however) the *Quicumque Vult*, which can be found in all editions of the Orthodox liturgical Psalter. This creed is dated in the 6-7th century by some Orthodox writers (it was first mentioned at the Council of 660 A. D. in the *Autumn*), but as a historical document it is of little importance,⁸ particularly because presenting as it does the teaching of the era of the Ecumenical Church, corresponding roughly to the period of activity of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils, it testifies that the Church's doctrinal tradition did not suffer in this historical period. With respect to the Cross and the Resurrex-

on, in particular, it reads: "As an intelligent soul and flesh constitute one man, so the One Christ is God and man, who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell and on the third day rose from the dead. . ."⁹

It should be noted that, although the attribution of this creed to St. Athanasius is, as mentioned, quite dubious, the very ascription of the text to this Orthodox hierarch and leader of the 4th century speaks not only of the great esteem in which he was held at the time the creed attributed to him arose, but also of the prevailing conviction that the contents of the creed corresponded to the doctrinal views of Athanasius.

However, apart from the creed, there are other documents from the first centuries of Christianity that testify to the primary, fundamental significance of the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus had in the eyes of the Church. Thus, St. Ignatius of Antioch (like the Apostle Barnabas and St. Polycarp of Smyrna) either begins his epistles with reference to the Cross and Resurrection,¹⁰ or dedicates entire chapters to this theme.¹¹ St. Ignatius writes, in particular: "Son of God by the Divine will and power, truly born of a Virgin, baptized by John for His fulfilling of all righteousness, and in the days of Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch truly pierced by nails in His human flesh (a Fruit imparting life to us from His most blessed Passion), so that by His Resurrection He might set up a beacon for all time to all together His saints and believers. . ."¹² (Trans. Maxwell Staniforth. Early Christian Writings. London, 1968, p. 119).

There can be no doubt that, as one of our Orthodox theologians writes, "from the very beginning of its existence, the first Christian community . . . imagined to itself, gave meaning to and preached Jesus Christ in the light of the Resurrection. The radiance of the Easter defined the ways of Christian life. Without the Paschal light, the entire preaching of the faith would be reduced to insignificance and the very Cross of Christ would be but one of the innumerable crosses, would be just another tool for execution invented by

mankind."¹³ In truth, *if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins* (1 Cor. 15. 17).

The thought of the Holy Fathers, beginning with the Apostolic Fathers already mentioned, through the great Cappadocians, Augustine, the ascetics of the 4th through 7th centuries, John of Damascus and the later Fathers unto our own time, has never separated the Cross from the Resurrection, rather joining them in one contemplation.

In complete conformity to the treatment by the Holy Fathers, Martin Luther wrote much later: "It is not enough and it is no use to know the glory and greatness of God if one does not know also the humiliation and shame of the Cross. Every true theology and every true theosophy flourish only in the presence of Christ Crucified. For God wishes to reveal Himself in His sacrifice."¹⁴

Turning to Orthodox hymnology, we find a number of hymns, the most widely used at that, where Cross and Resurrection are joined in one prayerful, contemplative experience. Among them are the hymn for the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, "O Lord, we worship Thy Cross and glorify Thy holy Resurrection" and the Sunday hymn "We have seen Christ's Resurrection. . ." In the text of the latter there are three calls to worship: the first, "we worship the Holy Lord Jesus"; the second, "O Christ, we worship Thy Cross"; and the third, "we worship the Holy Resurrection of Christ." This underscores the inseparability of the Cross and Resurrection in the soul of the Orthodox Christian.

In this respect, the demarcation of theology, chiefly Western, into the "theology of the Cross," the "theology of the Resurrection," the "theology of the Incarnation," the "theology of justification" and so on, were evidence of the fragmentation of theological thought, of the desire of theologians and theological schools to facilitate the analysis of soteriological problems at the expense of a one-sided approach to them, by isolating one aspect, which did not always further the integrity or the evangelical and canonical truth of the mastery and proclamation of the word of God. Fortunately, at the present

time the theology of all confessions is increasingly aware of the unity and inseparability of the entire evangelical kerygma as well as its dogmas—a unity based on the unity of the divine and the human in the Person of Jesus Christ, a Person that is at once His historical reality, and every word of His teaching, and all the events of His earthly life, and—perhaps, above all—His Death and Resurrection.

The integrity of the evangelical narrative and the organic interconnection of all its parts and details, their orientation toward the culmination—Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Transfigured, Risen Saviour—is manifest in the fact that the Passions, of which the Creed speaks, are not confined to the concluding chapters of the Gospels, but are in fact the content of each Gospel from beginning to end, and describe the life of the Saviour from the beginning—in the manger—to the end—on the Cross and in the tomb. The entire life of the Saviour is a chain of passions and humiliations to which the Son of God voluntarily subjects Himself for the salvation of man.

Moreover, one can discover the beginning of these passions in the humiliations to which His Most Pure Mother was subjected while She was awaiting the birth of Her Son. After all, if Joseph, the human being closest to Her, a loving friend, was subject to a flood of suspicions that were, humanly, both natural and understandable (Mt. 1. 19), one can imagine the humiliations and insults to which the Most Pure Virgin was subjected by Her rigoristic and pharisaical, legalistic environment. It is here that the passion of the God-Man began, innocently humiliated and cursed while still in the womb of His Mother.¹⁵ Then followed birth in the manger, flight from persecution, a difficult, toiling childhood and youth; on the commencement of His ministry to society—rejection by His own people (Jn. 1. 11), threats of physical violence (Lk. 4. 28-29; Jn. 7. 1), slander and provocation (Lk. 11. 15; 20. 20-26; Jn. 9. 24); direct insults (Jn. 8. 48); then betrayal by one disciple, denial by another and the flight of the rest; moral isolation, an iniquitous trial, battery, profanation,

crucifixion; most terrible of all—the experience of being forsaken by God (Mt. 27. 46); and, finally, death, a death that in the eyes of men was shameful and deserving only of damnation and repugnance (*for he that is hanged is cursed of God*—Deut. 21. 23; Gal. 3. 13).

In the Nicene Creed, there is specific mention of the Saviour's Death,¹⁶ but there is another word—"buried," which testifies to the reality of physical death possibly more forcefully than the word "death." The narration of the burial includes the affirmation that death actually occurred and thus permits the laconicism inherent in the creed to manifest itself in all its force, eliminating a word that is no longer necessary.

It does not follow from this, however, that the Death itself was necessary to complete the work, as the crown and culmination. Here we approach directly to a recognition of one of the fundamental aspects of Christ's Passion—their voluntariness, which is the key to the providential meaning both of the Passion and of the Resurrection, and insofar as the Resurrection, as we have seen, is the culmination not only of the Passion on the Cross and Death, but also the whole passionate, suffering, earthly life of Jesus Christ, it is also the key to the whole act that He has wrought (Jn. 4), to the act of objective salvation of the human race. The voluntary nature of the Passion is obvious from numerous passages in the Gospels.

One should note, first, that Christ many times expressed His foreknowledge of approaching Passion and even of the forthcoming Resurrection. We find in all the synoptics—and expressed almost identically—three prophecies of later sufferings: the first immediately preceded the Transfiguration (Mt. 21; Mk. 8. 31; Lk. 9. 22), the second followed soon after the Transfiguration (Mt. 17. 22-23; Mk. 9. 30-32; Lk. 13-45), and the third, the most detailed, was uttered on the last journey to Jerusalem (Mt. 20. 17-19; Mk. 10. 34; Lk. 18. 31-34). All these prophecies were intended to prepare the disciples psychologically for the forthcoming trials, as the Evangelists themselves note (Mt. 16. 21; Lk. 9. 44).

nce they contradicted Judaic mes-
 anic expectations, expectations that
 e disciples shared, these prophecies,
 ll of realistic tragedy, were received
 the disciples either without un-
 rstanding (Lk. 9. 45; Mk. 9. 32),
 with grief and mistrustful horror
 Mt. 16. 22; 17. 23; Mk. 8. 32), or
 metimes simply were not heeded
 Lk. 18. 34). However, the Saviour not
 ly announced the forthcoming events,
 e also indicated their providential
 eaning and purpose. *The Son of man,*
e said, came not to be ministered
to, but to minister, and to give his
self a ransom for many (Mt. 20. 28).
 Thus, we find in the Gospels direct
 ferences to the redeeming, saving
 port of the Passions and Death of
 ur Lord; but we find the fullest and
 st thorough disclosure of the so-
 riological achievement in the Apostle
 ul. The first verses of the 15th
 chapter of the First Epistle to the
 orinthians, in an elevated, solemn
 yle, succinctly but with exhaustive
 oroughness proclaims to us the etern-
 ly joyous and saving truth, *that*
Christ died for our sins according to
the scriptures; And that he was buried,
and that he rose again the third day
according to scriptures (1 Cor. 15.
 4). The Apostle anticipates this creed
 y referring to the fact that it is the
 incipal content of the Gospels as a
 hole, that this content constitutes the
 sence of our salvation and that this
 ood news must and will be passed on
 om one generation of Christians to
 other, unadulterated and pure (vv.
 3). The Apostle does not prove the
 uth of the Passions, Death and
 urrection, since they were remembered by
 id obvious to all. But the greater part
 the subsequent verses of this chap-
 r are dedicated to the demonstration
 the historical authenticity of the
 esurrection, and the Apostle bases
 is truth both empirically—with refer-
 nce to persons who saw the Risen
 rist (vv. 5-11)—and pragmatically,
 y referring to the importance and
 ecessity of the Resurrection for gro-
 nding the belief, already firm in the
 nsciousness of his readers, in their
 wn personal resurrection and future
 e in the Kingdom of their God and
 ather (vv. 12-28).

He died for our sins (1 Cor. 15. 3).
 These few spare words draw into them-
 selves the whole essence of the Chris-
 tian message and supplement the pro-
 clamations of salvation—Jn. 3. 16—
 where God's love for the world He
 created is proclaimed. In the words of
 Christ cited by John the Apostle, God's
 love is said to be the cause, the source
 and the moving force of salvation, and
 faith is referred to as the means for
 winning this salvation; the Apostle
 Paul reveals how this salvation is ef-
 fected. Besides the text already adduc-
 ed, he writes in his *Epistle to the Ro-*
mans: It (faith) shall be imputed, if
we believe on him that raised up Jesus
our Lord from the dead; Who was
delivered for our offences, and was
raised again for our justification (Rom.
 4. 24-25). Elsewhere in the same Epist-
 le, St. Paul writes: *If thou shalt confess*
with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and
shalt believe in thine heart that God
hath raised him from the dead, thou
shalt be saved. For with the heart man
believeth unto righteousness; and with
the mouth confession is made unto
salvation (Rom. 10. 9-10). As we see,
 Paul does not separate the Cross from
 the Resurrection, but rather sees in
 them stages of the one process of
 objective salvation, to which the stages
 of the process of subjective, personal
 salvation correspond. *For if, when we*
were enemies, we were reconciled to
God by the death of his Son, much
more, being reconciled, we shall be
saved by his life (Rom. 5. 10). The
 Cross is the remission of sins, atone-
 ment; the Resurrection is justification,
 salvation (compare the text of Rom. 4.
 24-25, cited above).

The Ecumenical Church's under-
 standing of the mystery of the Death of
 Christ the Saviour is revealed profo-
 undly and meaningfully by, among
 other Fathers of the Church, St. Atha-
 nasius of Alexandria. Almost every-
 thing that has come down to us from
 St. Athanasius is in one way or another
 connected with the struggle against
 the heresies of the time, chiefly Arian-
 ism, a struggle in which St. Athana-
 sius, as we know, took a most active
 part.

One of St. Athanasius' basic ideas,
 running like a red thread through all

his works, is the affirmation of the dual nature of Jesus Christ: His true Divinity and true humanity. Responding to a broad range of Arian arguments, St. Athanasius had to treat all the events of the Saviour's earthly life, and all the texts of the New and Old Testaments that related to this problem, from the point of view of the dual nature of the one Person of the God-Man.

In this respect, St. Athanasius' approach differed substantially from the position taken by another outstanding interpreter of the Gospel events—Martin Luther. The dual nature of Christ was always outside the personal theological interests of Luther, and he viewed digging into this problem as a manifestation of triumphalism—*theologiae gloriae*. As we know, Luther's interests were focused basically on Christ's saving act, on the outward manifestation of His Person, not on what He was *pro Se ipso*, but *pro nobis* and, to that, directly *in statu agend.*¹⁷

St. Athanasius naturally allotted a special place among the Gospel events to the Passion, Death and Resurrection of the Lord, as having decisive soteriological meaning. The assertion that the Son of God suffered, was buried and rose again in the flesh, which in no way affects His Divine nature, is a special thesis. Thus, in his *De Incarnatione*, St. Athanasius writes: "The body, the nature of which was identical to all others, for this was a human body, had to die, as do *others*, for it, too, was mortal, despite its miraculous generation from the Virgin. However, since it was indwelt by the Logos, it was not, as would follow from the order of nature, subject to decay but was preserved from this by the Word of God implanted in the body. Thus, something dual was wrought in one and the same event: death, as the common fate, manifested its power over the body of the Lord, but both death and decay were vanquished thanks to the Logos that dwelled within the body. The Logos, Who, being immortal, can not die, took on a body capable of death in order to bring it as His own to the sacrifice and in order by the suffering consequent upon His incarnation to *destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the*

devil; And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage (Heb. 2. 14-15).

Here, as we see, St. Athanasius first unites the death and the incorruptibility of the body of Christ: death is a purely physical phenomenon conditioned by the fact that the Son of God took upon Himself human flesh. Incorruptibility is a supernatural phenomenon and is brought about by the indwelling Logos. Then the sacrificial victory over the Devil is referred to the purpose of the whole act of Incarnation, and in particular—of the Passion and Death. Resurrection, where the Divinity manifested itself in fullness, not only forestalled the possibility of decay in the future but also vanquished death itself.

Elsewhere, the saint discloses more detail the soteriological meaning of the Passion and Resurrection: "The Logos took on Himself corporeal sufferings not without purpose, but so that we should take part in the eternal life, not simply as people, but as appurtenances of the Logos. For we no longer die in Adam because of our initial birth, but are risen from the dust, since our birth and every corporeal affliction is assumed by the Logos, and the curse of sin redeemed through Him Who became a curse for us (Gal. 3. 13). For, as all of us, come from earth and die in Adam, so all of us, reborn in a higher sphere of water and the Spirit (Jn. 3. 5), come to life in Christ, because the body itself now has become not of the flesh, but of the Word in the Name of the Word of God, Who has become flesh for us (Jn. 1. 14)."

This text, in the manner of St. Paul (Rom. 6. 1-14; 5. 12), makes our personal salvation, that is, "participation in the eternal life," conditional upon the objective salvation of which the Orthodox hymn, addressing Christ, says: "Christ God wrought salvation in the world; Thy most pure hand Thee stretched out upon the Cross."

With the clear dialectical juxtapositions peculiar to him, St. Athanasius writes elsewhere: "The Lord of slaves was made a mortal son of His own slave, that is Adam, that the children of Adam, being mortal, be made the sons of God (Jn. 1. 12). The son

d, partakes of death for His carnal
her, and the children of men are
ought to the life of God for God,
ir Father in spirit.”²¹

All exegetes know the difficulties
nnected with the fact that, like the
al causality of the Passion and
ath (Christ was subjected to suffer-
gs caused by others, but went to
ssion and Death voluntarily—Mt.
53), Resurrection is also treated in-
ly Writ as an event with two volun-
tary causes: some texts testify that
d raised Christ from the dead (Acts
24, 32; 3. 15; 10. 40; 1 Cor. 15. 15;
m. 8. 11; 1 Cor. 6. 14), others—that
Himself rose of His own will and
wer (1 Cor. 15. 4, 20; Rom. 6. 4, 9;
1. 28. 6). St. Athanasius resolves
se difficulties by positing that the
urrection of the body of Christ
uld be performed, like any creative
; only by the Father, but like the
ation of the world was performed
ough the Son (Jn. 1. 3), so, too,
e resurrection of the body was per-
med by the Father through the Son,
d one may thus say that the Son
sed Himself.”²²

The method of theological thought
e anticipates the approach subse-
ntly taken by St. John of Damas-
s to the resolution of the problem
the procession of the Holy Spirit.
According to St. John, the Holy Spirit
ceeds from the Father through the
n (*dia tou Yiou*),²³ which sums up
well-known differences in the rele-
ant texts in about the same spirit and
le as St. Athanasius treats the prob-
m of the Resurrection.²⁴

We are speaking of the resurrection
the body of Christ. In some works,
luded in most editions of St. Atha-
sius, there is no clear treatment of
teaching of the human nature of the
d Jesus Christ, and some of St.
athanasius' pronouncements can be un-
stood to mean that the Word-Made-
n assumed human flesh, while the
l coincided with His Divine nature.
us, in the same *Contra Arianos* that
have repeatedly cited, it is said:
ith respect to the flesh, we say
t the Son died and was buried and
e from the dead, while He was eve-
where in the spirit—both in heaven
l on earth.”²⁵ However, in another

work²⁶ St. Athanasius writes in a dif-
ferent vein. Citing Jn. 11. 33, where
the purely human, spiritual experien-
ces of Jesus Christ at the tomb of La-
zarus are told, he specifically affirms
the presence in Christ of a human soul
with all the faculties and functions in-
herent in it. The disparity in pronoun-
ments seems to support the opinion of
some students of patristic writings that
the books *Against Appolinarius* are not
genuine.²⁷ This is the more probable,
since in 362, at the Council that he
convoked in Alexandria, St. Athanasi-
us and other Fathers decisively reject-
ed the teaching of *soma apsiikhon tou*
Khristou. If we consider the work men-
tioned to be genuine, then the dispar-
ity can be attributed to an evolution in
the views of St. Athanasius himself,
who, adhering strictly to Orthodox
conceptions where he was dealing with
the dogmatic definitions of Councils,
could easily give way to moods of po-
pular piety that departed from the
strict delimitation of the natures of
the God-Man Person of the Saviour,
moods that are reflected in ancient
hymns that are heard in church serv-
ices to the present day, such as, for
example: “Today He Who hung the
earth upon the waters, is hung upon
the Cross; He Who is the King of the
Angels is crowned with a wreath of
thorns. He Who wraps the heaven in
clouds is wrapped in mock scarlet”²⁸
 (“*Holy Week* as sung in the Orthodox
Church.” Translation made at the Or-
thodox Monastery of the Veil of our
Lady, Bussy-en-Othe, France, p. 72).
In other lines from the same service
(the Good Friday Matins) we find ex-
pressions of the sort: “The swarm of
Jews, those murderers of God, lawless
nation...”²⁹ (*Ibid.*, p. 74).

Here is expressed a teaching inhe-
rent in the Ecumenical Church from
time immemorial, but formulated only
in 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, the
teaching of the unconfused yet indivis-
ible unity of the Divine and human na-
tures in the One Person of the God-
Man; moreover, in various hymns and,
one must suppose, in various pronoun-
cements by the Holy Fathers, in parti-
cular by St. Athanasius, the indivisibil-
ity is accentuated at one point, the

unconfusedness of the two natures at other points.

It is worth noting that by St. Athanasius' time the Church had distinct mastery over Pauline ecclesiology—the teaching that the Church was the Body of Christ (Rom. 12. 4-5; Col. 1. 18; 1 Cor. 12. 12-28). In one place, St. Athanasius refers the meaning of the words of the Apostle Peter to the Church—*God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ* (Acts 2. 36)—and says: “The Church is His humanity, the Church rules and reigns in Him after His crucifixion, and is anointed to Heavenly Sovereignty in order to reign with Him Who gave Himself for her and took her into Himself by assuming the guise of a servant.”³⁰

I would like to say a few words about the significance of the Cross and the Resurrection, a significance that I would call historical and moral. I do not have in mind here the historicity of the Gospel events, but their influence on the subsequent history of the Christian world.

The Cross and the Resurrection, forming, as we have already said, an indivisible unity, are in many respects polar to each other. One may say that this polarity is just as sharp and clear as the polarity of death and life. The Cross is boundless humiliation, terrible shame. The Resurrection is supreme, boundless exaltation and glorification. The Cross is the end of the old, the Resurrection is the beginning of the eternally new. The Cross is external defeat, the Resurrection is in every respect a decisive victory. The Cross is boundless solitude (Mt. 27. 46), the Resurrection is a pledge of the great community of the Ecumenical Church, visible and invisible, pilgrim and triumphant (Jn. 12. 32).

For all their polarity, however, mutual causality links the Cross and Resurrection. Without the Cross there would have been no Resurrection. Resurrection transformed even the shame of the Cross into a victory, for, given external defeat on the Cross, there transpired a supreme, internal, moral victory over sin. In the Death on the Cross, as in embryo, there is already *implicite* the reality of life (Jn. 12. 24),

which shone *explicite* with victory from the deserted grave. This dialectic of the Cross and the Resurrection ordains and permeates the entire history of the Church as a whole and the life of each Christian; in the bearing of the cross and crucifixion there is a pledge of salvation and victory, for: *though our outward man perishes, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory* (2 Cor. 4. 16-17).

This soteriology of Resurrection through the Cross is the same for Christians and over all the centuries has united and still unites us, despite all confessional differences. The difference, it seems to me, is basically that Protestant theology took as its point of departure the achievement of salvation through Resurrection (*Ostereignis*) and from there turned toward the Cross, often attending to the latter to such a degree that it transferred to the Cross all the glory of the Resurrection, while Orthodoxy has always proceeded from the Cross to the Resurrection, basing its hopes on the feat that inevitably leads to the glory of the Resurrection.³¹ What has been said refers to the achievement on Golgotha itself as well as to its recapitulation in the life of the Christian and the Church. This is not a difference of dogma, but in method and *mentalität*. So one may hope that theological tendencies, having a common evangelical foundation, will find or, to put it more precisely, will recognize many points of contiguity.

NOTES

¹ Справ. К. Barth. *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, 2, S. 531.

² Требник. Чин Крещения и Миропомазания. Справ. Рим. 10, 14.

³ H. Vogel. *Das Nicaenische Glaubensbekenntnis*. Berlin, S. 97.

⁴ “Ich glaube... an Jesum Christum Gottes Eingeborenen Sohn, unseren Herrn, der... Pontio Pilato gekreuziget, gestorben und begraben (ist), niedergefahren Zur Hölle am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten...”

⁵ Архиеп. Василий (Кривошеин). *Символические тексты в Православной догматике*. «Богословские труды», 1968, № 4, с. 1. Апостолство в его первоначальной форме впервые приводится на греческом языке Мелетием Анкирским (374) в «Послании к

Юлию», а на латинском — Руфином («Комментарии к Апостольскому символу»). В этой первоначальной форме Apostolicum почти падает с Исповеданием веры Ипполита (post. Trad., 21), составленным на греческом языке в форме вопросов и ответов (J. Kel- Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntnis. "Theologie und Kirche", I, S. 760-762).

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M. Luther. Werke. Weimar, 1924, I, 362.

Срав. Н. Vogel. Ibidem, s. 96.

Как это имеет место в Апостольском символе: «При Понтии Пилате распятого, умершего и погребенного».

P. G. Wacker. Luthers Reformation in humanistic Sicht (in Sammlung "Reformatio-henute," Berlin, 1967, S. 190); H. Fries. Die

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18 Св. Афанасий. Слово о воплощении Бога Слова и о пришествии Его к нам во плоти, 20. Творения, т. I. Троицкая Лавра, 1902, с. 216-217.

19 3-е слово на ариан, 33. Там же, т. II, с. 412.

20 Часослов, 6-й час.

21 О явлении во плоти Бога Слова и против ариан, 8. Там же, т. III, с. 257-258.

22 Там же, с. 253; см. также с. 262.

23 Св. Иоанн Дамаскин. Точное изложение православной веры. I, 8, 13, СПб., 1894.

24 Св. Афанасий. О явлении во плоти Бога Слова... Творения. т. II, с. 261.

25 Св. Афанасий. О явлении во плоти Бога Слова... Творения. т. II, с. 261.

26 Там же, т. III, с. 333. Против Аполлинария, I, 15.

27 Hoss. Studien über Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius. Frankfurt, 1899, S. 128 f;

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28 Троица постная; утренняя Великой пятницы, антифон 15, глас 6.

29 Там же, тропарь, глас 4.

30 Св. Афанасий. О явлении во плоти Бога Слова... 21. Творения, т. II, с. 273.

31 О «богословии Воскресения» в протестантизме и о недопустимости недооценки Креста в духовной жизни христианина см. R. Kasemann. De Rur Ruf der Freiheit. Tübingen, 1968, S. 821 ff.

Prof. D. GEORG KRETSCHMAR

Kreuz und Auferstehung in der Sicht von Athanasius und Luther

1. Athanasius und Luther

Athanasius, der große Bischof von Alexandrien in der Spätantike, und Martin Luther, Theologieprofessor an der sächsischen Universität Wittenberg an der Schwelle zwischen Mittel- und Neuzeit, gehören sehr verschiedenen Geschichtsepochen an und waren in ihrem Denken und Handeln auf Lebensverhältnisse bezogen, die sich nur schwer miteinander vergleichen lassen. Sprache, Kultur, Gesellschaftsstrukturen, Staatsgefüge waren jeweils anders. Und man kann auch nicht voraussetzen, daß Luther allzuviel von Athanasius gewußt hat. Er kannte ihn aus den ihm zugänglichen kirchengeschichtlichen Werken des Altertums und — erst später — einer neuzeitlichen Darstellung der

altkirchlichen Konzile als Verteidiger der apostolischen Wahrheit gegen die Arianer. Aber er hat nur wenige authentische Schriften des Alexandriners im Zusammenhang gelesen und auch diese nur in lateinischer Übersetzung. An sich hatte die Forderung einer wahren Reformation der Kirche in Wittenberg von Anfang an mit dem Programm einer Erneuerung der theologischen Studien im Zusammenhang gestanden. Dazu gehörte auch eine gegenüber dem Mittelalter intensivere Lektüre der Kirchenväter, gerade der griechischen. Voraussetzung hierfür waren die von Humanisten wie Erasmus von Rotterdam vorgelegten neuen Editionen. In diesem Zusammenhang entstand auch ein Nachdruck verschiedener Schriften des Athanasius in lateinischer Übersetzung, den 1532 Johan-

nes Bugenhagen in Wittenberg veranstalten ließ und für den Luther ein Vorwort verfaßte, das seine Verehrung für den großen Kirchenlehrer erkennen läßt.¹ Tatsächlich enthält dieser Band aber nur sehr wenige authentische Werke des Alexandriners.² Auch während des Mittelalters hatten im Abendland nur einige seiner Schriften in Übersetzung kursiert; der Traktat über die Menschwerdung des Wortes Gottes ist im Gebiet der westlichen Christenheit erst in der Neuzeit bekannt geworden, und auch von den großen antianianischen Büchern besaß man vor dem höchstens Auszüge aus Florilegien.³ Gern und fleißig zitiert werden dagegen Athanasius zugeschriebene, aber nicht von ihm stammende Schriften, vor allem das Lehrbekenntnis „Quicumque vult“.⁴ Die erste gedruckte Ausgabe der Werke des hl. Athanasius mit dem griechischen Text erschien erst 1600/1601 in Heidelberg, herausgegeben von einem reformierten Niederländer, Commelin, die aber auch noch nicht zwischen authentischen und nicht authentischen Schriften schied.⁵ Bis in die Neuzeit hinein gilt also, daß die Wertschätzung des Athanasius das Maß an wirklicher Kenntnis seiner Theologie weit übertraf.⁶ Man wird also kaum fragen können, ob und wie Luther Athanasius von Alexandrien verstanden habe. Man wird auch nicht nach einer unmittelbaren Traditionslinie zu suchen haben, die beide Theologen miteinander verbunden haben könnte.⁷ Und dennoch ist ein Vergleich sinnvoll; denn Athanasius von Alexandrien und Martin Luther aus Wittenberg wußten sich beide, je zu ihrer Zeit, als Lehrer der Kirche — der Alexandriner als Bischof, der Wittenberger als Doktor der Theologie und als Professor — und deshalb dazu beauftragt, die Wahrheit des Evangeliums festzuhalten, weiterzugeben und gegen Irrtümer zu verteidigen. Für beide weisen die Stichworte „Kreuz und Auferstehung Jesu Christi“ auf das Zentrum des Glaubens, in dem und von dem die Kirche lebt. Sie beriefen sich hierfür mit Nachdruck auf die Hl. Schrift. Dabei hat sich ihnen die Heilsbedeutung von Kreuz und Auferstehung Jesu Christi auf Grund der Schrift jeweils in bestimmten vorgegebenen Zusam-

menhängen erschlossen, nicht nur wir Menschen immer an einem uns vorgegebenen Ort stehen und von Gott gesalbt sind, sondern sie auch wissen, daß sie Theologen der Kirche waren, die vom Evangelium, der Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten und Auferstandenen lebten. Diese Heilsverkündigung hat Christen immer schon gereicht, noch ehe sie als Theologen sich bemühten, sie zu verstehen und weiterzugeben. Wir werden also bei Athanasius und Luther nicht nur zu fragen haben, was sie über Kreuz und Auferstehung lehrten, sondern auch von welchen Traditionen sie herkamen und in welchen Lebenszusammenhängen ihre Aussagen gehören.

2. Athanasius

a) Als Leitfaden soll für Athanasius von Alexandrien die schon genannte Schrift „Von der Menschwerdung des Wortes [Gottes]“ dienen, das zweite Buch eines apologetischen Werkes, das als unmittelbare Adressaten sich an Christen vor Augen hatte, aber eben auch an Christen, die sich ihres eigenen Glaubens gegenüber einer noch weitgehend heidnischen Umwelt und gegenüber der Synagoge verstehend gewiß werden sollen. Man hat dieses Werk früh in die Zeit verlegt, ehe Athanasius 328 Nachfolger Alexanders von Alexandria wurde, etwa ins Jahr 318. Heute scheint sich die Meinung durchzusetzen, daß es 336 geschrieben wurde, in der Verbannung in Trier.⁸ Doch wann auch immer dies Buch abgefaßt worden ist, es ist keine polemische Schrift in dem Sinne, daß Athanasius hier im innerchristlichen theologischen Streit oder den damit damals nicht auseinanderdividierbar verbundenen kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen Stellung bezöge. Es geht dem von seiner Gemeinde getrennten Bischof darum, auf Fragen eine Antwort zu geben, die sich einem gebildeten Christen wie der nichtchristlichen Umwelt der Kirche aufzudrängen schienen, die gerade im Drittel des 4. Jh.s angesichts einer den Bildungsschichten kräftig an Boden gewinnenden rationalen, aufgeklärten Weltansicht elementaren Fragen ob nicht die zentralen Aussagen des „Glaubens an Christus den Erlöser“ (ten kata ton sotera Christon pistis c. gent. 1) schlechterdings unsinn-

ien. Das gilt vor allem für das Kreuz Christi; „nur dies halten uns die Heiden immer wieder vor“, führt Athanasius weiter in der Einleitung zum Buch „Gegen die Hellenen“ aus (vgl. vit. ant. 74). Natürlich zweifeln sie nicht daran, daß Jesus von Nazareth drei Jahrhunderte zuvor so hingerichtet wurde. Was sie nicht verstehen und nicht einsehen mußten, ist, „daß das Kreuz der Schöpfung... zum Heil geworden ist“ (ton stauron ... therapeian s ktiseos gegonenai). Das „Kreuz“ ist für den Bischof dabei nicht primär ein Hinweis für ein der Vergangenheit angehörendes Geschichtsfaktum; im Vordergrund steht, daß „seine Kraft die ganze Welt erfüllt“ und „alles Gaukelwerk der Dämonen diesem Zeichen weichen muß“. Offenbar weisen derartige Behauptungen auf eine für ihn unbestreitbare Wirklichkeitserfahrung — wir werden darauf zurückkommen. Aber eben diese vernünftiger Einsicht in sich durchaus zugänglichen Beobachtungen werden ja von den Heiden ganz anders gedeutet. Die Wahrheit, der die Ungläubigen sich verschließen, ist zu erkennen aus „den heiligen und Gottgehauchten Schriften“, und man kann sie auch in den Kommentaren der Schrift lesen, die von kirchlichen Lehrern geschrieben worden sind (c. gent. vgl. auch de inc. 56).

Konkret stellt sich diese Wahrheit für den Bischof dann, wie der Fortgang seiner Darstellung zeigt, als ein festes Gefüge aufeinander bezogener Lehraussagen dar. Die Heilsbedeutung des Kreuzes ist von der Auferstehung Christi nicht abzulösen: „Wenn aber der Tod von ihm“ — dem gekreuzigten Christus — „getötet war, was anders sollte dann geschehen sollen, als daß der Leib auferstand und als Zeichen des Sieges über ihn sich offenbarte?“ (de inc. 30). Kreuzigung und Auferstehung weisen aber zurück auf die Menschwerdung des Wortes Gottes: „Er nahm einen sterblichen Leib an, damit der Tod in ihm vernichtet werden könnte“ (c. 13). Daß die Inkarnation auf das Leiden, also das Kreuz hinführt, setzt schon der junge Bischof in seinem ersten Osterfestbrief 329 als selbstverständlich und bekannt voraus, wenn er den Vers aus dem Hohen Lied „Wer wird dich mir zum Bruder ma-

chen...“ (8, 1) auslegt: „d.h., daß Er Mensch wurde und für uns Leiden trug.“⁹ Die Menschwerdung des Wortes Gottes wiederum weist zurück auf die Erschaffung des Menschen und den Ursprung der Sünde und des Todes: „Wenn wir von der Erscheinung des Heilandes unter uns reden wollen, so müssen wir auch vom Ursprung des Menschen reden, um zu erkennen, daß unsere Schuld Anlaß zu seiner Herabkunft gegeben und unsere Sünde die Menschenliebe des Wortes herausgefordert hat, so daß der Herr zu uns kam und unter den Menschen erschien“ (de inc. 4). Erst in dieser Zusammenschau erweist sich die Geschichte des Menschengeschlechtes als Triumph der Philanthropie und Güte Gottes, der seinen Heilswillen mit seinem Geschöpf, dem Menschen, durch das Kreuz und die Auferstehung Christi zum Ziele führt. Die Gottheit Gottes, seine Wahrhaftigkeit und Treue gegen sein eigenes Wort als Schöpfer und Gesetzgeber, der das Leben des Menschen will, und zwar ewiges Leben in der Ausrichtung auf Gott, und der auf den Ungehorsam die Strafe des Todes gesetzt hat, läßt das Kreuz als auf Ihn und sein Wesen bezogen „passend“ erscheinen (tros ton theon eulogon), gerade so wird das Kreuz Christi aber auch den Menschen als heilwirkend verstehbar.¹⁰ Geschichte wird damit zur Heilsgeschichte, die auf das Kreuz Christi und Ostern zuläuft.

b) Dies Gefüge von Lehraussagen, in dem Schöpfung, Inkarnation, Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi miteinander verknüpft sind, war Athanasius bereits vorgegeben; seinen ursprünglichen Ort hat es nicht eigentlich in der Taufkatechese, sondern in der frühchristlichen Osterpredigt. Paulus hatte das durch Christus gewirkte Heil gegen den Hintergrund der Übertretung Adams gezeichnet: „Wie nun durch *eines* Sünde die Verdammnis über alle Menschen gekommen ist, so ist auch durch *eines* Gerechtigkeit die Rechtfertigung zum Leben für alle Menschen gekommen“ (Röm. 5, 18) und „Da durch *einen* Menschen der Tod gekommen ist, so kommt auch durch *einen* Menschen die Auferstehung der Toten“ (1. Kor. 15, 21). Und auch für den Völkerapostel zielte das Kommen des Sohnes Gottes in die Welt auf das Kreuz (Röm. 8;

Phil. 2, 6—8). Diese Aussagen erhalten im 2. Jh. im Rahmen der frühchristlichen Passah-Feier, dann der Osternacht, einen besonderen Akzent. Die Christenheit feierte in diesem Nachtgottesdienst die Erlösung durch Christus als Erfüllung der durch die Einsetzung des Passah-Festes dem alten Gottesvolk gegebenen Verheißung. Kreuz, Auferstehung und Auffahrt Christi werden zusammengeschaut und als Überbietung des „vorbildhaften“ Heilshandelns Gottes im Alten Testament begriffen. Aber nun, in der Kirche, geht es nicht mehr um die Rettung Israels allein, es geht um das Heil der ganzen Menschheit. Und eben deshalb konnte die paulinische Adam-Christus-Typologie gerade in diesem Zusammenhang neu aufgenommen werden. Wir kennen seit einigen Jahren zumindest zwei derartiger Predigten aus dem 2. Jahrhundert, die Passa-Homilien des Melito von Sardes und eines unbekannten Autors¹¹ und haben seitdem die Möglichkeit, die Theologie etwa des Irenäus besser zu verstehen; denn sein Entwurf der Heilsgeschichte erscheint nun als Verknüpfung und Weiterführung der einzelnen Passa-Osterfeier.

Ähnliches ließe sich auch für Athanasius zeigen. Die Festbriefe, in denen er nach alter alexandrinischer Überlieferung den Gemeinden Ägyptens die Termine für das Osterfest und das ihm vorangehende einwöchige Fasten mitteilte und die zwar kaum in griechisch, aber teilweise in koptischer Fassung und z. T. in einer alten syrischen Übersetzung erhalten sind¹², lassen erkennen, wie tief er in der altkirchlichen Osterauffassung verwurzelt ist. Gerade von ihm gilt, daß man an diesem Fest „nicht nur eines Aspektes der Geschichte Christi, sondern des Heilsgeschehens in seiner ganze Fülle“¹³ gedenkt. Das ist nicht nur eine Angabe zur Liturgiegeschichte, sondern bereits Hinweis auf die Theologie des alexandrinischen Bischofs.

c) Zunächst wird man dabei allerdings auf den Unterschied zwischen einer Osterpredigt und einer Schrift wie „Von der Menschwerdung des Wortes“ achten müssen. Aus der Verkündigung und dem Lobpreis unter Christen wird nun eine — zumindest intentional — auch dem Nichtchristen ver-

stehbare logische Argumentation. In einem Festbrief ließ sich schreiben: „Zu der Zeit, als die Söhne Israels den ungeistigen Schaf schlachteten, starben die Erstgeborenen ihrer Feinde, weil Gott sie niederschlug. Jetzt aber, wenn wir das vom Himmel herabgestiegene Brot, das Wort des lebendigen Gottes essen, ist der Tod so entmachtet, daß wir ihn verspotten: 'Tod, wo ist dein Recht? Hölle, wo ist deine Krallen?' (Hos. 13, 14)... Jeder sei also in Eifer und Freude bereit, gerade, wenn er sich zum Fest begibt.“¹⁴ Nun muß begründet werden, weshalb Kreuz und Auferstehung eben diese Entmachtung des Todes sind und was das eigentlich heißt: „der Tod ist entmachtet“.

Hier kann es nun nicht darum gehen, den Gedankengang des Athanasius in dieser Schrift im einzelnen nachzuzeichnen. Nur einige Bemerkungen sind erforderlich, um den Rahmen abzustecken. Bekanntlich geht der alexandrinische Theologe davon aus, daß der Mensch, als Geschöpf aus dem Nichts gerufen, von vornherein vergänglich ist. Gottes Gnade eröffnete ihm durch die Teilhabe an seinem Logos die Möglichkeit, zu „bleiben“ (diamenein), „wahres und wirkliches Leben“ zu führen wie der heilige Engel (c. 3, 3). Diese Möglichkeit hat sich der Mensch durch die Sünde verscherzt, er wandte sich von Gott zum Nicht-Seienden und verlor damit das Wissen um Gott (ten per theou ennoian) und mußte sterben (c. 4, 5). Nur indem Gott selbst, der Logos, diesen Menschentod auf sich nahm, konnte er seinen Schöpfungsplan zu seinen Zielen führen. Im Blick auf das Menschenbild des Athanasius heißt das: „Das, was den Menschen zum Menschen macht, ist also nicht in seiner 'Natur' eingeschlossen, sondern in der Tatsache, daß die Grenzen seiner Natur, die mit seiner Geschöpflichkeit mitgegeben sind, von nun an nicht mehr unverschränkt gelten. Die Besonderheit des Menschseins beruht auf der Gemeinschaft mit Gott.“¹⁵ Im Blick auf den Christusweg ergibt sich: weil Athanasius hoch ansetzt, bei Gottes Heilswirken in seinem Logos, seinem Sohn, rückt folgerichtig das Kreuz viel stärker in den Mittelpunkt der Überlegung als es von der älteren Ostertradition zu erwarten wäre. Denn von dieser

nsatz her ist eben nicht die Auferstehung das zu deutende Rätsel, sondern das Sterben am Kreuz — und so hört Athanasius auch die Nichtchristen argumentieren (vit. Ant. 75). Daß der Logos in einem menschlichen Leib, als Mensch sichtbar erschien, ist Offenbarung Gottes für den Menschen (de inc. 18). Aber auch dies zielt auf den Tod; gerade bei einem Sterben am Kreuz bezeugte die ganze Schöpfung Christus als Gott (c. 19). Daß dieses Sterben zugleich Aufhebung des über den Menschen verhängten Todesgesetzes wirkte, sagt der Alexandriner in ähnlichen Worten, wie wir sie in der älteren Osterpredigt finden: „So geschah ganz auffallend bei einem und demselben Geschehen etwas Doppeltes: der über alle verhängte Tod übte sein Recht am Leib des Herrn, und Tod und Verwesung wurden wegen des einwohnenden Logos aufgehoben“ (c. 20; vgl. Melito 8, 55 f.; 66, 70 f.).

Das ist aber bereits wieder Hinweis auf die Auferstehung.

Überhaupt ist es schwierig, irgendein Stichwort zu finden, das die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi am Kreuz exklusiv beschreibt. Selbst wenn er ihn sein Opfer nennt (c. 20, 2. 6; 21, 6; 25, u. a.), schlägt er sofort die Brücke zur Auferstehung; denn der Logos verleiht seinen Leib, aber eben dieser Leib ist in der Auffahrt des Auferstehenen für uns der Weg zum Himmel (c. 20, 2; 25, 6).¹⁶ Fast könnte man sagen, Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi sind für den Bischof von Alexandrien die zwei Seiten der gleichen Münze, eben das geschichtlichen Erlösungshandelns Gottes am Menschen.

Daß dennoch das Kreuz einen besonderen Akzent trägt, ergibt sich nun allerdings nicht nur daraus, daß es für Athanasius rätselhafter ist als Ostern, sondern auch und besonders aus seiner mittelbaren Gegenwartsbedeutung. Es ist das Heilszeichen, vor dem die Dämonen fliehen. Von Dämonen zu sprechen ist nicht modern und für uns vielleicht nicht einmal unmittelbar verständliche Rede. Für Athanasius ist mit eine zentrale Wirklichkeitserfahrung bezeichnet. Das zeigt wohl am deutlichsten sein Buch über den hl. Ananias. Das Leben des Asketen, das führt aber des eigentlichen Christen

und damit des Menschen, wie er sein soll¹⁷, ist bestimmt vom Kampf gegen die Dämonen; für Antonius müßte es genauer heißen: vom Sieg über die Dämonen. Der Bischof von Alexandrien versteht dies kaum als bildliche Rede, die etwa deshalb erforderlich sei, weil die Versuchlichkeit des Menschen in der Welt eine Tiefendimension hat, die nur in mythischer Sprache angemessen ausgedrückt werden kann. Im Gegenteil, er schildert diese Dämonen eigentlich so unmythisch, wie es ihm möglich ist (vgl. z. B. vit. Ant. 31 f.), und betont immer wieder, daß sie zwar wild, aber doch schwach seien (z. B. c. 91). Aber jedenfalls sind sie reale Wesen. Ihr besonderer Lebensraum ist die Luft (c. 21; 28; 66). Sie stehen hinter dem Götzendienst der Heiden und suchen auch den Christen wieder von seinem Glauben und seinem gottwohlgefälligen Leben abzubringen.

Der Gestus des Kreuzschlagens ist sicher alt, und seine exorzistische Bedeutung ist schon im 2. Jahrhundert belegt. Aber bei wohl keinem anderen altkirchlichen Schriftsteller wird dieses Thema so oft angesprochen und wird so selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt, daß die Dämonen vor dem Zeichen des Kreuzes fliehen. Dieses Zeichen ist Hinweis auf das Kreuz Christi: „Hört und achtet nicht auf sie [die Dämonen]; bezeichnet vielmehr euch und euer Haus mit dem Zeichen des Kreuzes und betet; und ihr werdet sehen, wie sie verschwinden; denn sie sind feige und fürchten gar sehr das Zeichen des göttlichen Kreuzes; denn durch dieses hat sie der Heiland entwaffnet (c. 35; vgl. c. 13; 23; 80). Umgekehrt kann Athanasius aus dieser ihm geläufigen Gedankenverbindung gerade den Kreuzestod des Herrn als sinnvoll aufzeigen, denn das Kreuz ragt in die Luft, in den bisher sicheren Lebensraum der Dämonen (de inc. 20, 5 f.). Wir haben hier nicht die Herkunft dieser Dämonologie zu untersuchen¹⁸, aber eben sie erlaubte es Athanasius, den universalen Wirklichkeitsbezug der Heilstat Gottes am Kreuz aufzuzeigen. Daß die Macht der Dämonen schwindet, war für ihn erfahrbar: Der Siegeszug der christlichen Mission beseitigt auf dem ganzen Erdenrund „die Gottlosigkeit der Götzenbilder“ (de inc. 31, 2; vgl. 46 und vit. Ant. 78

ff.; 41) ¹⁹; und die Tatsache, daß der christliche Glaube Menschen zu Taten befähigt, die eben aus der Erkenntnis Gottes und der Gewißheit wachsen, daß der Tod überwunden ist (c. 31, 1), Bereitschaft zum Martyrium (c. 29, 4; 48, 1) und zur Askese (48, 1; vit. Ant. 97 u. a.), erweist die Kraft Christi. In beidem wird zugleich die Wahrheit der Auferstehung Christi offenbar, denn „das ist nicht das Werk eines Toten, sondern eines Lebenden und vorab Gottes“ (c. 30, 6).

Darin ist aber auch die Frage teilweise beantwortet, was es denn heiße, daß der Tod durch das Kreuz und die Auferstehung Christi überwunden sei. „Dereinst vor der göttlichen Ankunft des Heilandes war der Tod selbst für die Heiligen etwas Schreckliches, und alle beweineten die Sterbenden als der Vernichtung verfallen. Seitdem aber der Heiland seinen Leib von den Toten auferweckt hat, ist der Tod nicht mehr schrecklich, vielmehr treten ihn alle, die an Christus glauben, mit Füßen, wie wenn er nichts bedeutete, und wollen lieber sterben als den Glauben an Christus verleugnen. Denn sie sind sicher, daß sie sterbend nicht untergehen, sondern fortleben und durch die Auferstehung unverweslich werden“ (c. 27, 2). Wieder sind Kreuz und Ostern nicht auseinander zu dividieren. Der Sieg über den Tod am Kreuz erwies sich in der Auferstehung des Leibes Christi (c. 30, 1 f.), und eben dadurch eröffnete er uns wieder den Weg zum Himmel (c. 25, 6). Und diese Gewißheit der Zukunft wandelt die Haltung der Christen gegenüber dem Tod, dessen Herrschaft sie nicht mehr anerkennen. Das Neue wird in der Gegenwart erkennbar in der aus Glaubenserkenntnis erwachsenen neuen Bewertung der diese Welt bestimmenden Kräfte und einem sich danach ausrichtenden Verhalten der Christen. Auch dieser Zusammenhang ist für Athanasius ein so festes, unzerreißbares, durch die Erfahrung bestätigtes Gefüge, daß er umgekehrt in kühnem Rückschluß in der Todesverachtung der Christen einen gültigen Beweis für die Heilsbedeutung des Kreuzes und die Wahrheit der Auferstehung Christi findet (c. 27, 1).

d) Man hat die Christologie und Trinitätslehre des Athanasius vor allem

in der deutschen Dogmengeschichte schreibung um 1900 gern in den Rahmen einer „physischen Erlösungslehre“ hineingestellt, die angeblich für die griechischen Väter bezeichnend sei und ihren prägnantesten Ausdruck in den Gedanken der Vergottung des Menschen gefunden habe.²⁰ „Die Gewißheit des Glaubens an die zukünftige Vergottung aber... ruht einzig und allein auf der Tatsache der Menschwerdung des Sohnes Gottes. Das Göttliche ist bereit auf Erden erschienen und hat sich mit der Menschennatur unauflöslich verbunden.“²¹ Bekanntlich finden sich derartige „Vergottungs“-Aussagen bereits bei Irenäus, er schließt sogar seine Hauptwerk, die fünf Bücher gegen die Häresien, mit dem Ausblick auf die selbst den Engeln verborgene Weisheit Gottes, deren Inhalt die Inkorporation des geschaffenen Menschen in den Sohn Gottes ist: „Das eingeborene Wort steigt hinab in das Geschöpf... und wird von ihm aufgenommen; das Geschöpf hinwiederum nimmt das Wort auf und steigt zu ihm empor, in dem sich über die Engel erhebt.“²² Es ließe sich nun zeigen, daß diese reziproken Inkarnationsformeln traditionsgeschichtlich ebenfalls in der frühchristlichen Osterpredigt verankert waren. Das Ziel des Abstieges des Sohnes ist der Aufstieg des Menschen zu Gott²⁴. Es besteht keinerlei Anlaß, den berühmten Satz des Athanasius, daß Gott Mensch geworden sei, damit wir vergöttlicht würden (autos gar enenthropesen, hi. 54, 3) anders zu verstehen; er entspricht weitgehend der Aussage, daß der Auferstandene „uns wieder den Weg zum Himmel eröffnete, wie er wieder sagte: ‚Erhebet eure Tore, ihr Fürsten, erhebet euch, ihr ewigen Tore‘ (Ps 24, LXX). Der Logos selbst hatte es nicht nötig, daß ihm die Tore geöffnet würden..., wohl aber bedurften wir solcher Öffnung, die er mit seinem eigenen Leibe empor trug“ (c. 25, 6). Das heißt aber zunächst, daß „Menschwerdung“ auch an dieser Stelle — wie es dem gesamten Duktus der hier als Ausgangspunkt genommenen Schrift entspricht — gerade Kreuz und Auferstehung einschließt. Die „theopoiesis“, also die zukünftige bleibende Gemeinschaft mit Gott in der Teilhabe am Sohn, in d

Grenzen des bisher erfahrbaren geschichtlichen Menschseins gesprengt (vgl. 1. Joh. 3, 2), ist von Haus aus keine Weihnachts-, sondern eine Osterverheißung — wobei eben „Ostern“ auch hier den Karfreitag mit umfaßt. Auch die später geschriebenen Passagen aus den Arianerreden lassen diese Zuordnung deutlich erkennen (c. Ar. I 24; II 66—70; III 32—34; 54), obgleich sich in dieser zweiten Phase des arianischen Streites die Diskussion auf die geschichtliche Erneuerung des Logos im Fleische konzentriert hatte und damit die Besinnung auf die Menschwerdung sich von Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi herauslösen begann — theologisch zumindest insofern auch ganz sachgerecht, damit die synoptischen Evangelien und Paulus und Johannes stärker in den Fragen nach der rechten Lehre von Christus einbezogen wurden. In diesem Zusammenhang gehört es wohl, daß in Alexandrien und Ägypten ein eigenes Fest der Theophanie, der 6. Januar, seit vor dem Jahre 400 belegt ist²⁵; selbst wenn es damals bereits ein Menschenalter hindurch gefeiert worden wäre, könnte es höchstens noch in den ersten Amtsjahren des Athanasius eingeführt worden sein.

Schon damit wird auch eine andere, weil vorgetragene These problematisch, der Bischof von Alexandrien sei in dem Sinne „supralapsarisch“ in Heilsplan Gottes gesprochen, daß der Mensch auf die künftige Inkarnation hin geschaffen sei, unabhängig von Fall. Im Grunde ist dies erst eine Umgestaltung der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Theologie, immerhin kann man sie bis Maximus Confessor zurückfolgen.²⁶ Athanasius lagen derartige Überlegungen, man könnte auch sagen Spekulationen, noch sehr fern. Gewiß ist die Erlösung mehr als Wiederherstellung eines Urstandes. Was wahres, lebendes Menschsein ist, hat erst das Fleischgewordene Wort Gottes durch das Sterben am Kreuz und seine Auferstehung und Auffahrt eröffnet. Der Mensch, den „das vollkommene Wort Gottes“ anlegte, war „unvollkommen“, weil Er statt unser die Schuld bezahlte, was dem Menschen fehlt, durch das Kreuz zur Vollendung führe“ (di' heautou tou thnase, c. Ar. II 66). Eben dies meint

„theiosis“; sie ist deshalb eschatologisches Heilsziel, auf Erden gibt es nur ein Wachstum auf diese Vollendung hin (c. Ar. III 53). Wenn Athanasius dieses Heilsziel in Gottes Plan „vor der Zeit“ und „bevor Er die Erde machte“ (Prov. 8, 23. 25) verankert, dann ist immer die Sünde des Menschen mit einbezogen (c. Ar. II 75). Der griechische Theologe lehnt es leidenschaftlich ab, über Gottes bloße Möglichkeiten nachzudenken — scholastisch formuliert, über Gottes potentia absoluta — er sieht sich als Theologe an das geschichtliche Heilshandeln gewiesen (c. Ar. II 68) und damit an das Sterben und Auferstehen des Herrn als den Weg unserer Erlösung (c. 69).

Das Stichwort „physische Erlösungslehre“ ist aber insofern sicher sachgerecht, als für Athanasius das verheißene wahre Menschsein sich nicht in einer besseren Ethik oder neuen sittlichen Haltung erschöpft.²⁷ Der vollendete Mensch ist ein neuer Mensch. Und dies sein Neusein durchbricht seine natürlichen Möglichkeiten. Das ist insofern gut paulinisch, und — um vorzugreifen — Luther lehrte bekanntlich nicht anders. Eine der sich hier anmeldenden Fragen ist allerdings, wovon sich dieses Neue abhebt, von der Schöpfung, besser der Geschöpflichkeit und damit Vergänglichkeit, oder von der Sünde. Athanasius sagt beides. Aber in der Schrift von der Menschwerdung steht doch die Überwindung des Todes durch Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi beherrschend im Vordergrund. Die Sünde wird zum eigenen Thema eigentlich nur an einer Stelle, allerdings auch der entscheidenden: in der Abkehr von Gott, die sich in Götzendienst äußert. Gewiß gehören für den Alexandriner Tod und Sünde zusammen; außerhalb von Christus ist der Tod nicht nur Folge der natürlichen Vergänglichkeit des Geschöpfes; deshalb ist das Sterben der Christus-Getreuen (hoi en Christo pistoi) heute etwas anderes, als es vordem war (oukete nyra hosper palai). Gottes Urteilsspruch trifft sie nicht mehr (de inc. 21, 1). Vielleicht könnte man interpretieren, der Tod ist nun ein „natürlicher“ Vorgang geworden, der dann unter der Verheißung der Überwindung dieser Vergänglichkeit in der Gnaden-

gabe der Auferstehung steht. Daß die Überwindung des Todes und nicht die Vergebung der Sünde im Vordergrund steht, entspricht in dieser Frühschrift dabei wiederum völlig der mehrfach herangezogenen Osterüberlieferung.²⁸ In den Arianerreden spricht Athanasius, wenn ich recht sehe, dann häufiger und betonter auch von der Tilgung der Schuld. Aber letztlich bleibt es doch dabei, daß Aussagen wie „Reue des Menschen“ (de inc. 7, 2 f.) oder „vollmächtiges Wort Gottes, das den Fluch aufhebt“ (c. Ar. II 68) dem Bischof von Alexandrien nicht zureichen, um das durch den Sohn gewirkte Heil zu beschreiben, nicht weil ihm Buße und Sündenvergebung unwichtig wären, sondern gerade weil er die Schwäche und Sünde so tief im Menschen verwurzelt sieht, daß eine bloße Entscheidung des Menschen oder ein ihn anscheinend nur äußerlich berührendes Handeln Gottes das Sünder-Sein nicht aufheben könnten. Und daß dem so ist, macht Athanasius sich umgekehrt gerade am geschichtlichen Heilsweg des Sohnes deutlich. Auf der anderen Seite korrespondiert dieser auf Wirklichkeit zielenden Erlösungslehre jene erstaunliche Zuversicht hinsichtlich der Erfahrbarkeit der Erneuerung, die wir schon kennengelernt haben. Gewiß ist die „theiosis“ eschatologisches Heilsziel, auf Erden wird sie nie abgeschlossen, im Gegenteil, hier zwingt sie den Menschen zum ständigen Kampf — wir werden sehen, daß gerade hier die Brücke zu Luther sehr leicht zu schlagen ist. Aber andererseits kann Athanasius doch eine Vision des Wüstenvaters Antonius aufzeichnen, in der Dämonen von dem Asketen Rechenschaft über seine Taten fordern und daraufhin den Bescheid erhalten: „Die Schuld von seiner Geburt her hat der Herr ausgelöscht; von der Zeit an aber, wo er Mönch geworden ist und sich Gott versprochen hat, soll es euch erlaubt sein, Rechenschaft zu nehmen.“ Und hier fanden sie nichts an ihm (vit. Ant. 65) — so hätte Luther allerdings nicht mehr reden können. Damit wird ein weiterer Punkt berührt, der noch zur Thematik „physische Erlösungslehre“ gehört. In der Schrift von der Menschwerdung bleibt eine Frage offen, die später in der abendländischen Theologiegeschichte zu

einem Zentralthema der Soteriologie werden sollte, nämlich wie Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi uns heute erreichen. Wieder ließe sich zeigen, daß auch hierin Übereinstimmung zwischen Athanasius und der alten Osterpredigt besteht. Dort war es ja auch nicht notwendig, diese Frage aufzugreifen; zum Fest versammelte Gemeinde, die doch eben zusammengekommen, weil sie sich vom Sieg Christi betroffen und getragen weiß. Der Gedanke, die ganze Menschheit wäre durch die Inkarnation oder durch Kreuz und Auferstehung gleichsam kollektiv und automatisch, **diesem** Sinne also „physisch“ erhoben worden, lag dabei den alten Homileten fern, ebenso Athanasius.

Die Arianerreden und später vor allem die Serapionbriefe geben dann eine anscheinend klare Antwort: „Wir sind wegen der uns gewährten Gnade des Geistes in Ihm und Er in uns“ (c. Ar. 24). Das ist Aufnahme von 1. Joh. 4, 13. Athanasius kann auch von der Gegenwart des „Wortes“ in uns reden, aber eben diese Anwesenheit des Sohnes wird durch den Geist vermittelt: „Wie wir wegen des Wortes in uns Söhne und Götter sind, so werden wir im Sohn und Vater sein..., weil der Geist in uns ist, der in dem im Vater befindlichen Wort ist“ (II, 25). Diese Gabe des Geistes weist auf die Taufe. Und es ist bekannt, welche Bedeutung daher umkehrt die Berufung auf die Taufe in die Trinitätstheologie des Alexandriner gewinnen sollte (c. Ar. I 34; II 41; Serap. 6. 30). Es läge also nahe zu schließen: die „theopoiesis“ des Menschen ist das Ziel des Kreuzes Christi und seiner Auferstehung; sie wird durch den Geist vermittelt, der Gabe der Taufe ist. Also kommen Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi zu uns in unserer Taufe. Tatsächlich ist mir aber kein Beleg bekannt, in dem Athanasius ausdrücklich so argumentiert; er zitiert auch weder Röm. 6 noch Kol. 2, 12. Das ist sicher kein Zufall. Für den griechischen Kirchenvater besteht zwischen dem vorgegebenen, objektiv Heilshandeln Gottes und dem individuell, subjektiven Betroffensein der Menschen kein Hiatus, der erst überbrückt werden müßte. Das Kreuz Christi ist eben nicht primär ein vergangenes Heilsereignis, sondern gegenwärtig

ichen des Sieges, vor dem die Dämonen fliehen. Das Wachstum des vom Logos angenommenen menschlichen Leibes in „Weisheit und Gnade“ (c. 2, 52), also seine fortschreitende Entwicklung (c. Ar. II, 52), wird mit der Vernichtung von Sünde und Vergänglichkeit (phthora) in den Menschen, also ihrer „theopoiesis“, zusammen gesehen (II 53), ohne irgendeine Reflexion über die Urbildlichkeit Christi oder Christus-Leibes, nur aufgrund der Identität der Leiblichkeit. In den Aussagen geht Athanasius davon aus, daß sich der Triumph des Gekreuzigten in der Welt durchsetzt als neue Wirklichkeit. Das Neue wächst nicht durch die Entscheidung von einzelnen Menschen; ihre Entscheidung kann nur darin bestehen, ob sie diese Wirklichkeit anerkennen oder nicht. Die Veränderung der Welt hat begonnen. Aber es schließt natürlich nicht aus, sondern setzt gerade voraus, daß sie dort begonnen hat, wo Gottes Geist anwesend ist, wo getaufte Christen glauben und kämpfen und eben durch dieses Glauben und Kämpfen die Wahrheit des Sieges Christi und seiner Auferstehung bestätigen. Christlicher Glaube ist sich an diese Wirklichkeit, deshalb können selbst ungebildete Christen die an Wortklaubereien haltende Gemeinsamkeit der Philosophen als Torheit darlegen (vit. Ant. 80). Das ist die Apologetik des Athanasius: „Nicht wir machen das, sondern Christus ist es, der durch die, welche an ihn glauben, das Leben bringt“ — nämlich von Dämonen Geheilte, Kranke, heilt und so „die Kraft des Kreuzes Christi“ sehen läßt. „Glaube also auch ihr.“

e) Die Theologie, insbesondere die Soteriologie des hl. Athanasius stellt sich noch manche Fragen³⁰, nicht zuletzt im Blick auf sein Verhältnis zu anderen Theologen des 4. Jh.s, etwa zu so verschieden denkenden Männern wie Euseb von Cäsarea und Markell von Ankyra³¹; aber wir hätten wohl noch Fragen an ihn zu stellen, etwa ob ihm gelungen sei, die Spannung wirklich durchzuhalten, daß Gott selbst, Gottes Wort, als Mensch zu Menschen kam, bis hin zum Tode am Kreuz — von im christologischen Streit brach dieses Problem ja auf. Rückfragen an das Menschenbild des griechischen Kir-

chenvaters werden sich später ergeben. Aber daraus würde dann doch erneut die Aufgabe erwachsen, zu verstehen, vielleicht auch kritisch zu verstehen, warum Athanasius eben so gedacht, argumentiert, geschrieben hat, wie er es tat als Theologe einer bestimmten Zeit mit bestimmten Voraussetzungen und Fragen.³² Hier sollte nur herausgestellt werden, daß und wie Athanasius von der Osterüberlieferung vom Kreuz Christi als Sieg Gottes über Sünde und Tod aus seine Soteriologie entwickelte.

Gelegentlich kam dabei bereits zum Ausdruck, daß der Alexandriner diesen Ansatz durch alle Kämpfe seines Lebens durchgehalten hat; von ihm aus konnte er apologetisch argumentieren, das Christusbild der Arianer bestreiten, die Gottheit auch des Heiligen Geistes begründen und schließlich sogar den Apollinarismus widerlegen. Aus dieser letzten Phase im Leben des Athanasius stammt der kurze Brief an Epiktet. Er wurde viel gelesen und gehört zu den wenigen authentischen Athanasiana, die sich in lateinischer Übersetzung in der genannten Wittenberger Ausgabe Bughagens von 1532 finden, die Luther also sicher in der Hand hatte. Deshalb möchte ich diesen Abschnitt schließen mit einem Zitat aus dieser Schrift und einigen Sätzen aus dem letzten Osterfestbrief, den Athanasius verfaßt hat, weil hieran die Einheit seiner Theologie noch einmal deutlich werden kann: „Er, der Körperlose, war in dem leidensfähigen Leibe; der Leib aber hatte den keines Leidens fähigen Logos in sich, der die Schwächen des Leibes hinweg nahm. Das tat er aber, und das geschah, damit er das Unsrige auf sich nehme, zum Opfer brächte und dadurch vollständig vernichtete, dagegen mit dem Seinigen uns umkleide und den Apostel sprechen lassen könne: ‚Dieses Vergängliche muß Unvergänglichkeit anziehen, und dies Sterbliche muß Unsterblichkeit anziehen‘ (1. Kor. 15, 53) (ad Epict. 6). „Der Herr hat uns durch sein Blut den Weg gebahnt (Hebr. 10 18 f.), und er hat ihn leicht gemacht dadurch, daß er den Himmel herunterbeugte, indem er herunterkam. Die Plage hat er durch sein Blut geheilt. Und als er beim Wandern müde wurde, setzte er sich auf den Brunnen in Samaria hin

(Joh. 4, 5) und rief jedem zu mit den Worten: „Kommt her zu mir alle, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid, und ich werde euch erquicken“ (Mt. 11, 28). Er zeigte auch uns den Weg...“³³

3. Luther

a) Wenn man die Überlieferungen beschreiben wollte, die Martin Luther bestimmt haben, sei es, daß er sie aufnahm, sei es, daß er sich gegen sie wandte, müßte man eigentlich bei Augustin beginnen und dann den Weg der Theologie und der Frömmigkeit im lateinischen Mittelalter schildern.

Aus dieser Geschichte seien nur zwei Momente herausgehoben:

al) Als Anselm von Canterbury (1033—1109) in „Cur Deus homo“, ohne die Schrift des Athanasius über die Menschwerdung zu kennen, die Frage des Alexandriners, warum Gott Mensch geworden sei, aufnahm, setzte auch er voraus, daß die „Ungläubigen“ über die Menschwerdung und das Kreuz spotten (1, 3). Weil alles das, was Christen im Lobpreis über die Sinnhaftigkeit und Angemessenheit dieser Geschichte Gottes mit den Menschen zu sagen pflegen, denen, die nicht glauben, nur als ein Bild nichtwirklichen Geschehens, höchstens als Dichtung erscheint, deshalb will Anselm aufzeigen, daß eben dieser Weg ans Kreuz zwingende Notwendigkeit um der Ehre Gottes willen war und auch vom Menschen deshalb als vernunftnotwendig erfaßt werden kann. Es wäre reizvoll, das Verhältnis dieses Programms zum Vorhaben des Athanasius zu bedenken.³⁴ Das würde aber die Grenzen des hier zu verhandelnden Themas sprengen. Jedenfalls geht es auch Anselm darum, daß Gott zu seinem Ziel mit dem Menschen kommt (II 2); entscheidend hierfür aber ist nicht die Überwindung des Todes, sondern die Tilgung der Schuld. Diese um der Ehre Gottes willen erforderliche Genugtuung konnte nur der Mensch gewordene Sohn am Kreuz leisten. Aber da er, sündlos, für sich dieser Tilgung nicht bedurfte, stand ihm „Lohn“ (retributio) für das Kreuzesopfer zu (II 19); dies sein „Verdienst“ gibt er seinen Gesippen, dem Menschengeschlecht weiter. Die Auferstehung Christi folgt wie bei Athanasius aus seiner Gottheit, aber sie ist für die Heilsbedeutung des Kreuzes in

dieser Argumentation bedeutungslos. Objektive Versöhnung Gottes in der geschichtlichen, vergangenen Heilsgeschehen und die Zueignung des Heiles an den Menschen treten schärflich auseinander.

Man wird nicht sagen können, daß sich dieser Entwurf Anselms unerschrocken schränkt durchgesetzt hätte. Vor allem wagten es die Späteren begreiflicherweise nicht mehr, von „notwendigen Vernunftgründen“ (rationes necessariae) zu sprechen — übrigens ist heute umstritten, was der „Vater der Scholastik“ wirklich mit diesem Programm gemeint hat —; für Thomas von Aquin war dies durch die seiner Überzeugung nach begrenzte Fähigkeit menschlichen Vernunft ausgeschlossen. Die Franziskanertheologen seit dem 14. Jh. hätten hierdurch vor allem die Freiheit Gottes gefährdet gesehen.

Dagegen rückt das Thema der Erneuerung des Menschen in der Hochscholastik geradezu in das Zentrum der Theologie, es wird als Eingießung der Gnade Gottes beschrieben, sie bewirkt die Rechtfertigung und Heiligung. Diese geschaffene, den Menschen gestaltende Gnade ist sakramental durch die Taufe und Buße vermittelt, eben als Zuwendung des Verdienstes des gekreuzigten Christus; aber der innere Zusammenhang zwischen Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi einerseits und Erneuerung des Menschen andererseits kann in dieser Gnadenlehre indirekt ausgesagt werden. Der spätmittelalterlichen Theologie vor allem der Schule William Ockhams wird dieser ganze Heilsweg, der von der Inkarnation über das Kreuz bis zur Auferstehung dieser so erworbenen Gnade durch den Sakramenten der Kirche reicht, rätselhaft erscheinen, daß sie ihn als unverständlichen, freien Willensentscheidungs Gottes beschreibt, der zwar in Glaube und Gehorsam anzunehmen ist, in der aber gerade das eigentliche, persönliche Verhältnis Gottes zum Menschen nicht mehr erkennbar wird, die Freiheit Gottes, in der er den Menschen annimmt und die die freie Liebe des Geschöpfes fordert.

a2) Diese Unmittelbarkeit Gottes zwischen Christus zum Menschen — nicht am geschichtlichen Heilsweg vorbei, sondern gerade durch das Kreuz — kam aber

ein fast elementaren Durchbruch in Passionsfrömmigkeit. Das Kreuz ist im ganzen frühen Mittelalter wie Athanasius als Zeichen des Sieges betrachtet. „Des Königs Fahnen ziehen nach.“³⁵ Das Kreuzgeheimnis leuchtet. Der Weltenschöpfer ragt am Anfang und wird der Schöpfung Opfer. „³⁵ Das Kreuz wird sogar noch unmittelbarer zum politisch-militärischen Heilszeichen als in der Spätantike, deshalb wurde es gern auf Waffen gebracht; für Ost und West gilt dies in gleicher Weise.“³⁶ Diese Linie zieht sich im 12./13. Jh. im Abendland fort. Das Kreuz wandelt sich zum Zeichen des Leidens. Für Bernhard von Clairvaux, für die Bettelorden und für die Mystiker tritt der leidende Christus in den Vordergrund, auch die Nachfolge Christi meint nicht primär Teilhabe an seinem Triumph, sondern an seiner Niedrigkeit. Bernardus, der große Schüler des Augustinus, konnte sich einmal in einer Karfreitagspredigt zu dem Satz begeistern: „Wenn es jemand zur Wahl gestellt wäre, ob er lieber selbst gekreuzigt würde oder ob Christus gekreuzigt werden sollte, ich glaube, er würde lieber selbst gekreuzigt werden.“³⁷ Natürlich ist das Kreuz Christi auch jetzt heilbringend; als „Leben der Seelen“ und „Leben der Seligen“ besingt es der gleiche Bonaventura.³⁸ Aber das Leben des Christen in der Welt, erst recht des Asketen, ist vom Siege Christi geprägt, sondern von seinem Leiden, und erst in solchen Leben in der Nachfolge des Gekreuzigten gilt die himmlische Erbschaft. Um es mit den Worten eines anderen — diesmal unbekannten — Mystikers zu sagen: „In derselben ewigen Liebe, aus welcher der himmlische Vater seinen eingeborenen Sohn in das Leben gesandt hat, in derselben ewigen Liebe sendet er noch allen Menschen. In Leiden und in keiner anderen Weise. Wäre Leiden nicht das Edelste, das Gott in der Zeit geben mag, hätte er seinen eingeborenen Sohn nie in das Leben gesandt. Mit Leiden haben die Menschen alle ihre Feinde überwunden, mit Leiden haben die Heiligen das Reich Gottes erstritten.“³⁹ Auch hinter derartigen Aussagen steht eine bestimmte Wirklichkeitser-

fahrung, vielleicht sagen wir zunächst besser Geschichtserfahrung. Der kühne und zugleich so tief problematische Versuch des frühen Mittelalters, die Königserrschaft Christi in der politischen Ordnung des abendländischen Imperiums Gestalt werden zu lassen, hatte in immer neue Konflikte geführt und war zutiefst unglaublich geworden. In den Kreuzzügen hatte sich gezeigt, daß die Christenheit als Militärmacht nicht stärker und nicht anders war als die „Heiden“, wie man die Muslime nannte.⁴⁰ Offenkundigen Götzendienst gab es in ganz Europa nicht mehr. Aber konnte man das noch unbefangen als Zeichen des Sieges Christi deuten? Das Anders- und Neu-Sein des Christen läßt sich nur noch schwer aus seinen Erfolgen, kaum aus seinen sichtbaren Taten ablesen, es hat mit der Innerlichkeit des Menschen zu tun, seinem Herzen, in dem er Christus, dem Gekreuzigten, begegnet. Damit wird der Mensch zum Einzelnen. Auch die Kirche mit ihren Sakramenten verliert dann an Bedeutung; sie hat ihre Macht oft genug mißbraucht, um Christen die Sakramente vorzuenthalten. Das Leiden ist „also frei, daß es einem weder Papst noch Pfaffe verbieten kann“, heißt es in der schon zitierten mystischen Überlieferung.⁴¹ Hier ist die Erneuerung der Welt kein Thema mehr, über das es sich lohnt nachzusinnen. Aber Luthers Frage, „wie kriege ich einen gnädigen Gott“, wird von hier aus als Frage nicht eines beliebigen Individuums, sondern eines Zeitalters verständlich.

b) Diese kurze Skizze gibt kein ausreichendes Bild vom späteren Mittelalter. Aber sie mag Traditionen erkennen lassen, die für Luther besonders wichtig waren. Er hat Bernhard von Clairvaux sein Leben hindurch geliebt, er war selbst Bettelmönch, seine philosophische und theologische Ausbildung hat er zunächst bei Männern erhalten, die aus der Schule Ockhams kamen, und gerade die neuere Forschung hat gezeigt, wie tief die Anfänge seiner Theologie in der spätmittelalterlichen Passionsfrömmigkeit verankert waren.⁴² Allerdings weist bereits diese Formulierung „Anfänge“ darauf hin, daß wir bei Luther offenbar — anders als bei Athanasius — mit einer theologi-

schen Entwicklung zu rechnen haben, besser, daß wir sie beobachten können. War Athanasius ein Mann, der—gegen den Hintergrund der ihm vorgegebenen Osterüberlieferung gesehen—besonders das Kreuz Christi betonte, ohne es je von der Auferstehung zu lösen, so werden wir Luther als einen Theologen kennenlernen, der—gegenüber der ihn prägenden Passionsfrömmigkeit—gerade die Einheit von Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi sah und lehrte, wobei der den Zugang zu Ostern allerdings bleibend vom Kreuz her gewann.

Aber bleiben wir zunächst bei diesen Anfängen der Theologie des Wittenbergers, also der Zeit vor dem Ausbruch des Ablassstreites 1517/18, der ihn in Konflikt mit Papst und Kaiser brachte.⁴³ Man kann diese Frühzeit geradezu unter die Überschrift stellen: *theologia crucis*, Theologie des Kreuzes.⁴⁴ Um zu erläutern, was hierunter zu verstehen ist, möchte ich mit den letzten der 95 Thesen einsetzen, die zu eben diesem Ablassstreit führten: „92) Mögen deshalb alle jene Propheten verschwinden, die zum Volke Christi sagen: ‚Friede, Friede‘, und ist doch kein Friede. 93) Wohl gehen möge es jenen Propheten, die zum Volke Christi sagen: ‚Kreuz, Kreuz‘ und ist doch kein Kreuz. 94) Die Christen sind zu ermahnen, daß sie sich mühen, ihrem Haupt, Christus, durch Strafen, Tod und Hölle zu folgen, 95) und so mehr darauf vertrauen, ins Himmelreich einzugehen durch viele Trübsale, als in dem Wahn, es sei Friede.“⁴⁵ Friede steht hier für falsche Sicherheit, Kreuz für das wahre Handeln Gottes mit den Menschen, wie es eben am Kreuz offenbar geworden ist. Als Athanasius von der Offenbarung Gottes am Kreuz sprach, da achtete er darauf, daß sich die Sonne abwandte, die Erde bebte, die Felsen sich spalteten. „Diese Vorgänge erweisen Christus am Kreuz als Gott und die ganze Schöpfung als ihm untertan, die in Furcht die Gegenwart ihres Herrn bezeugt“ (de inc. 19, 3). Luther sieht den unter Qualen sterbenden Mann, der für den Wittenberger nicht weniger Gott ist, Gottes Sohn, als für den Alexandriner. Damit verhüllt Gott am Kreuz nach Luther nicht nur seine ewige Macht und Gottheit, sondern verkehrt sie in ihr Gegenteil.

Im Bereich des Erkennens heißt Gott ist in der Welt gerade nicht zu finden, wo wir ihn suchen würden. Er ist am Kreuz der Verborgene. Er ist zugleich doch der Offenbare ist, läßt sich nicht in der Weise philosophischer Erkenntnis begründen, sondern nur auf Gottes eigenes Wort hin stehen. Dieser Widerspruch zwischen verborgener Wahrheit und dem, sichtbar und erfahrbar ist, bestärkt nach Luther nun das ganze Handeln Gottes mit den Menschen und deshalb auch die Wirklichkeit des Christen in der Welt. Das findet er in Kol. 3, 3 ausgesprochen: „Euer Leben ist verborgen mit Christus in Gott.“ Ein Jahr zuvor hatte Luther seinen Studenten bei der Auslegung eines anderen Pauluswortes, Röm. 9, 3 „ich möchte flucht sein... meinen Brüdern zu“ vorgetragen, daß „Christus mehr alle Heiligen verurteilt und verlassen war „und nicht leicht, wie ein Mensch es sich vorstellen, gelitten hat. Doch wirklich und wahrhaftig hat er sich Gott dem Vater für uns dargebracht zur ewigen Verdammnis. Und seine menschliche Natur hat sich nicht anders verhalten wie ein Mensch, der für die Hölle verurteilt ist. Um dieser Liebe zu Gott willen hat ihn Christus alsbald vom Tode und der Hölle auferweckt, und so hat er die Hölle geschlungen.“⁴⁶ Das haben alle Heiligen nachzutun.“⁴⁷ Achten wir zunächst nicht auf diese christologische Aussage, sondern auf die Schlussfolgerung, die Luther aus ihr zieht: „Was gut an uns ist, ist verborgen und zwar so tief, daß es unter dem Gegenteil verborgen ist; so unser Leben unter dem Tod, unsere Liebe unter unserem Haß, der Ruhm unter Schanden, das Heil unter Verderben, das Recht unter der Verbannung, der Himmel unter der Hölle, die Wahrheit unter Torheit, die Gerechtigkeit unter Sünde, die Stärke unter Schwachheit, und gemein alle unsere Behauptung irgend eines Guten unter seiner Negation, mit der Glaube seinen Ort in der Welt habe... So, ist unser Leben verborgen mit Christus in Gott“, das heißt in der Negation alles dessen, was man fühlen haben, verstehen kann.“⁴⁸ Es wird also nicht möglich sein, in derselben Weise von Wirklichkeit

ung zu sprechen, wie ich es im k auf Athanasius oder das späte telalter getan habe. Die Wirklich- Gottes in der Welt und die Erfah- gen, die ich mache, lassen sich t einfach zur Deckung bringen, sie ersprechen sich scharf. Glaube er- ft die Wahrheit Gottes gegen das tbbare und Erfahrbare — was nicht schließt, daß es auch Erfahrung des ubens gibt.

ber natürlich enthüllt das Kreuz t nur unsere Möglichkeiten, Gottes adeln zu erkennen. Es legt die rheit über den Menschen, über uns 3. Wenn wirklich Gottes Sohn am uz starb, sich „dem Vater für uns ewigen Verdammnis darbrachte“, es in letzter Zuspitzung in dem zi- ten Text hieß, dann ist das Kreuz tes furchtbare Gericht über die de, und darin ist zugleich die Fest- lung enthalten, daß wir von uns aus Gott nichts anderes sind als Sün- die das Urteil der Verdammnis lient haben. Für emotionale Leidens- tschaft, etwa daß wir alle gern an Stelle Christi uns hätten kreuzigen en, ist dann kein Raum mehr, ja solche — im Munde Bonaventuras er nicht so gemeinte — Aussage te als unerträgliche Hybris erschei-

Das sachgemäße Verhalten des schen angesichts des Kreuzes ist n zunächst nicht fromme Aktivität, dern Anerkennung des Urteils Got- das ihn, den Menschen, zum Sün- stempelt. Auch dies Gott-Recht-ge- ist Glaube, denn das Wissen um eigene Lage vor Gott erwächst ja u nicht aus der Erfahrung, auch t aus skrupulösen Anfechtungen, dern aus der Botschaft vom Kreuz. rdings führt sie dann zu „Anfech- en“⁴⁹, eben aus der Frage, wie n menschliches Leben unter solchem il noch möglich sein soll. Gerade n, daß der Mensch glaubend Gott och Recht gibt, gegen allen eige- Selbstbehauptungswillen, wird er aber gehorsam und erfüllt das e und grundlegende der Zehn Ge- , so wird Gottes Gottheit aner- t, und darin allein ist der Mensch, dies glaubend übernimmt, gerecht. thers Formulierung „simul iustus ecuator“, „gerecht und Sünder zu- h“, erwächst so aus der theologia

crucis, sie ist Beschreibung des Glau- benden angesichts des Sterbens des Sohnes Gottes am Kreuz. Dieser Zu- sammenhand von Christologie und Rechtfertigungslehre sei noch an einer Predigt Luthers zum Thomastag, dem 21. Dezember 1516, aufgezeigt, an der zugleich deutlich wird, daß es auch hierbei nicht nur um ein Erkennen, son- dern um Gottes Tat am Menschen geht. Luther unterscheidet in dieser Predigt zwischen Gottes fremdem und seinem eigentlichen Werk: „Da er“ — Gott — „also nur solche Leute gerecht machen kann, die nicht gerecht sind, muß er vor seinem eigentlichen Werk, der Rechtfertigung, sich mit einem ande- ren Werk plagen, daß er sie zu Sün- dern macht. So spricht er: ‚Ich töte und mache lebendig. Ich schlage und ich heile‘ (Dt. 32, 39).⁵⁰ Aber diesem fremden Werk, das heißt dem Kreuz Christi und dem Tod unseres Adam, sind auf’s heftigste feind, die von sich selbst meinen, daß sie recht, weise, ir- gendetwas seien. Sie wollen nämlich nicht das Ihrige verachten und für tönicht und schlecht halten, das heißt, sie wollen ihren Adam nicht töten, des- halb gelangen sie nicht zu Gottes ei- gentlichem Werk, das ist die Rech- fertigung oder die Auferstehung Chri- sti. So sind Gottes fremdes Werk die Leiden Christi und in Christus die Kreuzigung des alten Menschen und die Tötung Adams; Gottes eigentliches Werk aber sind die Auferstehung und die Rechtfertigung im Geist und das Lebendigmachen des neuen Menschen, wie es Röm 4 heißt: ‚Christus ist ge- storben, um unserer Sünden willen und auferstanden um unserer Rechtfier- tigung willen‘.“⁵¹ Es ist wohl deutlich, daß von solcher Theologie aus der spätmittelalterliche Ablass — zunächst der Brauch, aber letztlich auch die Theorie — als furchtbare, die Gewissen irreführende Perversion erscheinen mußte, wird hier doch der Mensch ge- rade darauf verwiesen, der über ihn verhängten Strafe auszuweichen, sie durch Leistungen oder gar Geld abzu- lösen und damit eben das Heil zu ver- fehlen. Solcher „Friede“ ist kein Friede vor Gott. Und die Predigt des Kreuzes („Wohlgehen möge es jenen Prophe- ten“) muß selbst dort laut werden, wo Strafe, Leid, in diesem Sinne „Kreuz“,

unmittelbar gar nicht in Erscheinung treten.⁵²

These 94 zeigt aber nun, daß die Heilsbedeutung von Kreuz und Auferstehung auch für die Epoche im Leben Luthers, die wir hier zunächst betrachten, noch nicht ausreichend geklärt ist. Der Christ hat nicht nur unter dem Urteil Gottes rechte Selbsterkenntnis zu gewinnen, er ist auch zum Tun aufgerufen: „Die Christen sind zu ermahnen, daß sie sich bemühen...“ Der Inhalt dieses Tuns ist die Nachfolge Christi, wobei Luther nicht eigentlich die Nachfolge des irdischen Jesus in den Blick nimmt, etwa in seiner Armut wie sie Franz von Assisi entdeckt hatte, sondern die Nachfolge des Gekreuzigten, der Gottes Strafe für uns auf sich nahm und durch Tod und Hölle zum Himmel durchdrang. Der Himmel ist für uns Zukunft, die Gegenwart ist Anfechtung (These 95). Der Mensch hat sie nicht zu suchen, Gott schickt sie. Aber eben dieser stete Kampf ist Nachfolge Christi, des Gekreuzigten, deshalb nennt Luther Anfechtung und Leid des Christen fast selbstverständlich selbst „Kreuz“.⁵³

Bei allen Unterschieden in der Akzentuierung steht Luther in derartigen Aussagen gewiß Athanasius nahe, auch darin, daß der Triumph der Gottheit Gottes in der Auferstehung Christi und das Heil des Menschen zusammenfallen. Aber Kreuz und Auferstehung haben das Urteil Gottes über den Menschen nicht in der Weise aufgehoben, daß es für den Christen nur noch Vergangenheit wäre. Deshalb bleibt der Tod für Luther auch für den Christen Gericht. In der 4. These von 1517 schreibt er: „Es bleibt deshalb die Strafe [Gottes], so lange der Mensch sich selbst haßt, das ist die wahre, innere Buße, das heißt bis zum Eingang in das Himmelreich.“ Und er hat diesen Satz 1518 so ausgelegt: „Die Strafe des Todes bleibt bei allen und auch die Furcht vor dem Tode, die gewiß eine Strafe über alle Strafen und für die meisten Menschen schwerer als der Tod selbst ist; um zu schweigen von der Furcht vor dem Jüngsten Gericht und vor der Hölle, von dem Zagen des Gewissens usw.“ Diesem Satz vorangestellt hat er die Aussage: „Das Kreuz der Buße soll solange dauern, bis nach dem Aus-

spruch des Apostels, ‚der sündige Mensch aufhöre, der alte Mensch‘ (Röm. 6, 6), der erste Adam mit seinem Bilde ungehe und der neue Mensch nach Gottes Ebenbild vollkommen erneuert werde. Nun aber bleibt die Sünde bis in den Tod, wenn sie auch durch die tägliche Erneuerung des Sinnes von Tag zu Tag abnimmt.“⁵⁴ Die Erneuerung des Menschen, zumindest des Christen, hat also auch für Luther bereits begonnen, auch sie bleibt Stückwerk, sie bleibt verborgen, sie lebt in der Buße und in Hoffnung.

In anderer Hinsicht läßt sich an der Fragestellung des Wittenbergers damals aber noch eine überraschende Analogie zu Athanasius konstatieren: In dem Problem der Vermittlung des vergangenen Heilsgeschehens zu uns heute tritt ganz zurück. Sicher nicht, weil das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen erfahrbar war, die Welt verändert — wir haben gesehen, weshalb schon das spätere lateinische Mittelalter so nicht mehr denken konnte, und daß für Luther eine solche Aussage erst recht nicht mehr nachvollziehbar war —, aber weil der Weg Christi ganz unmittelbar zur Beschreibung des Weges der Kirche und der Christen werden kann; es sei daran erinnert, wie aus dem Kreuz Christi das Kreuz des Christen und aus der Auferstehung die Rechtfertigung wurde. Man hat sogar kritisch formuliert, daß der junge Luther geradezu „die Geschichte Jesu Christi mit der Geschichte des glaubenden Menschen und die mit jener koinzidieren“ lasse.⁵⁵ Das mag überspitzt sein. Aber wenn Luther in dieser Frühzeit das Verhältnis des Christen zu Christus bedenkt, steht unbestreitbar für ihn im Vordergrund die Erkenntnis, daß Gott uns seinen Sohn „gleichförmig“ (conformes) macht. Christus wird dann zum Urbild des Christen, Luther greift hier gerade auf ein schon Augustinisches Begriffs-paar zurück: sacramentum (= Sakrament) — exemplum (= Vorbild), das Kreuz Christi bezeichnet das Kreuz des Christen und mahnt zur Kreuznachfolge bis zum Martyrium.⁵⁷ Wir können hier nicht untersuchen, welche exegetischen Traditionen und Methoden es Luther ermöglichen, so zu argumentieren, und es muß sogleich hinzugefügt werden — wie es den herangezogenen

sehr deutlich zu entnehmen —, daß Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi von Anfang an für Luther nicht etwas bezeichnen und nicht nur wirken, sondern Heil wirken. Man muß diese Unmittelbarkeit der Verbindung des Heilswerkes Christi mit dem Heilsweg des Menschen wohl mit dem spätmittelalterlichen Zweifel an der Notwendigkeit kirchlicher und sakramentaler Vermittlung zusammenfassen müssen. Aber in unserem Zusammenhang ist doch besonders bemerkenswert, daß Luther zur Begründung dieser „Eichförmigkeit“ des Christen mit Christus immer wieder Formulierungen verwendet, die an Athanasius oder zumindest jene alte Osterüberlieferung erinnern. Auch für ihn sind Kreuz und Auferstehung Christi untrennbar, obwohl er die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge beider theologisch auswertet als Athanasius.⁵⁹ Im Unterschied zur spätmittelalterlichen Passionsfrömmigkeit ist in Luthers *Theologia Crucis* eben nicht primär das Leiden Christi betont, sondern das Kreuz als Heilsmittel herausgestellt — und dann kann man es nicht von der Auferstehung trennen. Luther liebt auch jene prophetischen Inkarnationsformeln, selbst der theopoiesis kann er ohne Zögern zustimmen, „Gott wurde Mensch, damit der Mensch Gott würde“.⁶⁰ Hier hat man schon seit einiger Zeit „die Nachrichten der lebendigen Tradition der christlichen Theologie im Mittelalter“ konstatiert⁶¹ und gelegentlich versucht, diesen Traditionszusammenhang aufzuheben.⁶² Man wird hinzufügen müssen, daß auch für Luther wie für Athanasius die Erneuerung des Menschen real ist kraft des in ihm anwesenden und wirkenden Christus oder Heiligen Geistes, nicht aufgrund der eingegossenen geschaffenen Gnade und nicht aufgrund der freien Erlösung durch Gott.⁶³ Auch hier steht Wittenberger den griechischen Theologen näher als der Scholastik. Unverkennbar ist jedenfalls, daß der junge Luther davon überzeugt war, daß alle Aussagen über das Kreuz und die Auferstehung Christi fest im altkirchlichen christologischen Dogma verankert seien, während er sich zumindest später durchaus eines Unterschiedes, ja Gegensatzes zur spätschola-

stischen Christologie bewußt war.⁶⁴ Weiter steht fest, daß Luther ausdrücklich die Rechtfertigungslehre, wie er sie vortrug und von der er überzeugt war, sie aus der Schrift geschöpft zu haben, in engsten Zusammenhang mit diesen ihm überlieferten Formulierungen des alten Christusbekenntnisses brachte.⁶⁵

DIE ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Er nennt ihn nach Humanistenart sogar „divus Athanasius“; der Text der Vorrede in WA 30 III, 530—532. Zur Studienreform in Wittenberg vgl. K. Bauer, *Die Wittenberger Universitätstheologie und die Anfänge der Deutschen Reformation*, Tübingen 1928.

² D. Athanasii libri contra idolatriam Gentium et de fide Sancte Trinitatis. Exc. Wittenberge per Nicolaum Schirlentz MDXXXII. Mir lag der Band nicht selbst vor, da das früher im Besitz der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München vorhandene Exemplar im letzten Krieg untergegangen ist. Ich beziehe mich deshalb auf G. Geisenhof, *Bibliotheca Bugenhageniana*, Bibliographie der Druckschriften des D. Joh. Bugenhagen, Leipzig 1908, S. 319—320. Der Band enthielt vor allem die pseudoathanasianschen 11 Bücher de trinitate, die Bugenhagen dem 1523 in Basel erschienenen Werk von J. Sichardus, *Antidotum contra diversas ... haereses*, entnahm — ihr wirklicher Autor dürfte Euseb von Vercelli gewesen sein (I—VII, der Rest unbekannt, vgl. CChL IX, ed. V. Bulhart 1957), immerhin einer der wichtigsten Mitarbeiter des Athanasius im Abendland. Es folgen eine Reihe anderer Schriften, darunter die von Luther immer hochgeschätzte, ebenfalls nicht authentische Disputation zwischen Athanasius und Arius vor einem „iudex“ Probus; vorangestellt ist contra gentes nach der Übers. des Ambrosius Camadulensis, erschienen 1520 in Paris. Authentisch waren in dem ganzen Band außer dieser Schrift noch die ep. ad Epictetum und die ep. ad episcopos Africae.

³ Vgl. die Untersuchungen von B. Altaner: *Altlateinische Übersetzungen von Schriften des Athanasius von Alexandrien* (1941). Jetzt in: *Kleine Patristische Schriften* (TU 83), Berlin 1967, S. 392—408.

⁴ Thomas von Aquin beruft sich in den Abschnitten seiner *Summa Theologica*, die die Trinitätslehre behandeln (I qu. 1—43), mehrfach auf Athanasius, stets zitiert er dann aber eben dies sogen. „Athanasianum“, ein lateinisches Lehrbekenntnis aus Gallien noch aus spätantiker Zeit, vgl. hierzu J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed*, London 1964.

⁵ Auch die zweite Ed. im Abendland, 1627 in Paris, war von einem Calvinisten besorgt worden, dem damals bereits verstorbenen Johannes Piscator (= Fischer), 1564—1625. Die bis heute weitgehend noch nicht ersetzte Mauriner-Ausgabe erschien dann in der ältesten Fassung 1698 in Paris. Ich entnehme diese Angaben im wesentlichen H.-G. Opitz, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius*, Berlin und Leipzig 1935.

⁶ Doch dies ist dann ein Problem nicht nur der westlichen Kirche; bekanntlich sind Athanasius bereits im ausgehenden 4. Jh. so viele

Schriften unterschoben worden, daß bis heute keine Einigkeit darüber besteht, welche der überlieferten Werke des großen Alexandriner authentisch sind, und wir auch noch keine abgeschlossene moderne Gesamtausgabe besitzen. Es sind hierfür so umfangreiche Vorarbeiten erforderlich, daß die 1934 in Deutschland begonnene Edition ins Stocken geraten ist, vgl. M. Tetz, Zur Edition der dogmatischen Schriften des Athanasius von Alexandrien. In: ZKG 67, 1955/56, S. 1—28. Die Ausgabe wird aber weitergeführt. — Die Literaturangaben in den Anmerkungen wollen nicht das im Text Ausgeführte vollständig belegen, sondern sind vorwiegend als Hinweise auf neuere hauptsächlich deutsche Arbeiten zu Athanasius gedacht.

⁷ Hierzu und zum ganzen vgl. E. Wolf, Asterisci et Obelisci zum Thema: Athanasius und Luther. In: EvTheol 18, 1958, S. 481—490.

⁸ Der Text der Schrift ist bekanntlich in einer langen und einer kurzen Fassung überliefert; die Langfassung ist authentisch. Ich benutze die Ausgabe von F. L. Cross (Texts for students 50). London 1939, Nachdr. 1957; vgl. dazu M. Tetz, Athanasiana. In: VC 9, 1955, S. 159—175. Zur Datierung zuletzt: Ch. Kannengiesser, le témoignage de lettres festales de Saint Athanasie sur la date de l'apologie Contre les païens sur l'incarnation de Verbe=Rech. Sc. Rel. 53, 1964, S. 91—100. — Inzwischen ist die erste kritische Ausgabe des Doppelwerkes erschienen: Athanasius, Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione, ed. and transl. by R. W. Thomsen (Oxford Early Christian Texts), Oxford 1971. Ich habe die Zitate an ihr überprüft.

⁹ CSCO 150, p. 2, 10, ed. Lefort; dt. Übers. Merendino S. 25 (vgl. Anm. 12).

¹⁰ Vgl. dazu bes. de inc. 7; „eulogon“ heißt in Bezug auf Gott „richtig“, „passend“ — „angemessen“ wäre in der deutschen Übers. ein zu belastetes Wort —, zugleich heißt es aber „vernünftig“ im Gegensatz zu „alogon“, vgl. z. B. c. gent. 3.

¹¹ Die Passahomilie des Melito von Sardes zitierte ich nach der Ausgabe von O. Perler in Sources Chrétiennes 123, Paris 1966; die andere, in den Handschriften unter dem Namen des Johannes Chrysostomos überlieferte, aber meist als ps. Hippolyt zitierte Predigt nach der Ausgabe von P. Nautin, ebenfalls in Sources Chrétiennes, Nr. 27, Paris 1950. Abschnitte aus Melito sind aufgenommen und verarbeitet in einer koptischen Predigt „Über die Seele und den Leib“, die handschriftlich bald Athanasius bald Alexander von Alexandrien zugeschrieben ist. Sie könnte tatsächlich von Bischof Alexander stammen; in jedem Fall belegt sie neben den Osterfestbriefen (vgl. Anm. 12), daß es Überlieferungszusammenhänge zwischen Kleinasien und Ägypten gab. Vgl. W. Schneemelcher, Der Sermo „De anima et corpore“. Ein Werk Alexanders von Alexandrien? = Festschr. G. Dehn, Neukirchen 1957, S. 119—143.

¹² Die in koptischen Klöstern gefundenen Fragmente edierte L. Th. Lefort. CSCO 150 (=Script. copt. 19), Louvain 1955; eine deutsche Übers. fertige P. Merendino OSB, Athanasius von Alexandrien. Osterfestbriefe des Apa Athanasios, Düsseldorf 1965. Die syrisch erhaltenen Briefe deutsch bei F. Larsow, Die Fest-Briefe des Hl. Athanasius Bischof von Alexandria, Leipzig 1852.

¹³ So W. Huber, Passa und Ostern. Untersu-

chungen zur Osterfeier der Alten Kirche, Be 1969, S. 189.

¹⁴ 24. Brief vom Jahre 352, CSCO 150, p. 1 f., ed. Lefort; dt. Übers. Merendino, S. 46.

¹⁵ So J. Roldanus, Le Christ et l'Homme de la théologie d'Athanase d'alexandrie, Lei 1968, S. 350.

¹⁶ Gerade hier stoßen wir wieder auf die Passa-Ostertradition, vgl. Melito 102, 784. Irenäus, epid. 38; Hippolyt, fragm. aus Thoret, Eranistes: protos eis ouranos anabaton anthron doron to theo prosenegi. P. Nautin, Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Melito (Patristica I), Paris 1953, S. 23. Hier kann gerade die „Himmelfahrt“ als „Darbringung“, ein Opfer, beschrieben werden in typologischer Hese der Darbringung der Erstlingsgabe, auch noch in der Anm. 11 genannten koptischen Homilie „Über die Seele und den Leib“: „having died He put man on Himself like a garment, and took him with Him into the heaven which is in the heavens, and man became one with Him. He took him als a gift to Father. The gift was not gold“, A. A. W. Budge, Coptic Homilies, London-Oxford 1913, S. 115—132 nach O. Perler in Sources Chrétiennes 123, S. 203. Athanasius bleibt hier gegenüber seinen Vätern stärker bei Paulus, wer c. 20, 2 zwar von „aparche“ spricht, aber Opferterminologie nur mit dem Kreuz verbin-

¹⁷ H. Dörries bezeichnet es mit Recht als Intention des Athanasius, an Antonius „den pus des Christen... das Idealbild des Mensch wie er sein soll“, darzustellen; H. Dörries, Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle (1949), J in: Wort und Stunde I, Göttingen 1966, S. 142, 224, Zitat S. 177.

¹⁸ Dazu wäre weit auszuholen, die Berichte Dämonenaustreibungen im Neuen Testament müßten hier ebenso herangezogen werden, die im Platonismus der Kaiserzeit verbreitete Vorstellung, daß der Raum unter dem Mond von Dämonen erfüllt sei. Vor allem wäre prüfen, wie weit hier einfach von Christus ein Stück des antiken Weltbild übernommen wurde und wie weit hier gerade spezifische Eigenarten christlicher Theologie zeigen. Ein Vergleich z. B. mit Just. etwa app. 5, würde jedenfalls ergeben, daß die Behauptung, Christus habe die Dämonen stürzt, bereits eine lange Tradition in der christlichen Apologetik hatte. Charakteristisch für Athanasius ist, daß er diese Entmachtung der Dämonen so streng auf das Kreuz Christi zieht. Im 4. Jh., seit Konstantins Sieg 312, der späteren Einführung des Labarums, gewiß das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen auch eine politische Dimension.

¹⁹ Justin hatte hier noch gerade umgekehrt argumentiert. Eben die wilde Verfolgung der Christen durch die Dämonen seit der Erscheinung Christi ist ihm ein paradoxer Beweis der Wahrheit des Evangeliums, ap. 24—26.

²⁰ Am prägnantesten A. von Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte II (1887), Tübingen 1931⁵, S. 44 f.; stark vereinfacht und damit vergrößert in: Das Wesen des Christentums (1919), Neuaufl. Stuttgart 1950, S. 138—140; dagegen etwa A. Gilg, Weg und Bedeutung der altkirchlichen Christologie (1936), München 1971, S. 73—87; W. Elert, Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie, Berlin 1957, S. 147—149; D. Ritschl, Athanasius. Versuch einer Inter-



and ecclesiarch Nikolay Vorobyov pouring the newly-consecrated chrism into the alabaster with
 chrism. Bottom right photo: the sealed vessels with the new chrism in the synthronon in the Patriarchal
 Cathedral

Consecration of the new chrism at the
 Divine Liturgy in the Patriarchal Cathedral
 of the Epiphany on April 11, 1974, Maundy
 Thursday. Upper right photo: Patriarch
 Pimen standing by the altar before begin-
 ning the office of consecrating the chrism;
 upper left photo: His Holiness the Patriarch
 blessing the vessels with the chrism. Bottom
 left: the rector of the Domestic Chapel at
 the Patriarchate, Archimandrite Trifon



Participants in the Crete meeting of the CEC Presidium with representatives of the Archbishop of Crete at the museum of icon-painting in Herakleion



Archbishop Eugenios of Crete, Metropolitan Aleksiy and Professor Nikolay Zabolotsky before the Archbishop of Crete's residence (see p. 41)

on (Theologische Studien 76), Zürich 1964, 6—59.

Harnack, Dogmengeschichte II, S. 47 f. adv. haer. V 36, 3; vgl. V praef.: Das Wort *tes*, Jesus Christus unser Herr, „qui propter *ensam suam dilectionem factus est quod us nos, uti perficeret esse quod et ipse*“ (p. 314 ed. Harvey); III 19, 1; IV 38, 4. In beiden zuletzt genannten Texten wird Ps. 6 f. LXX zitiert: Ich sagte, ihr seid alle ne des Höchsten und Götter, aber wie Menschen werdet ihr sterben; daraus entnimmt Irenäus III 19, 1 die Identifizierung von „Gott“ — „*en*“ und „*hyiothesia*“ und verbindet dies mit dem Aufstieg zu Gott wie V 36, 3.

Vgl. ps. Hippolyt 62: „O göttliches Passa, wanderst von den Himmeln bis zur Erde und stegst von der Erde wieder auf zum Himmel... dich dich werden die Pforten des Himmels gehenet kai theos anthropos ephane kai anthropos ps anebe“ (p. 189 ed. Nautin); das bezieht sich zunächst auf Christus, der Gesamtzusammenhang zeigt aber die soteriologische Spitze dieses Satzes.

Vgl. auch die in Anm. 16 genannten Texte. Bei Johannes Kassian, coll. 10, 2; den Inhalt bestimmt man „teils als Taufe des Herrn, teils als seine Geburt nach dem Fleisch“; es gibt es auch einen eigenen Festbrief des Patriarchen zum Fest der Epiphanie. Im benachbarten Palästina läßt sich die Einführung auf Jahre zwischen 348 und 383 festlegen, und dort ist die Festliturgie nach dem Modell der Osternacht entwickelt worden. Vgl. im einzelnen B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et l'Epiphanie* (1932), Louvain 1962, S. 9 f.; Palästina meine Studie: Festkalender und Heiligtümer Jerusalems in altkirchlicher Zeit III. In: ZDPV 87, 1971, S. 181 f.

Das hat George Florovsky, *Cur Deus Homo. The Motive of the Incarnation*. In: *Festschr. Alivisatos*, Athen 1957, S. 70—79, sehr schön gezeigt, vgl. D. Ritschl, *Athanasius* S. 24 f.

„Hieraus ergibt sich: 1) daß die Erlösung ihrem letzten Effect als die Aufhebung des irdischen Zustandes durch eine wunderbare Bildung der Natur aufgefaßt wird, daß mit- 2) das höchste Gut sich von den sittlichen bestimmt unterscheidet, und daß 3) eine Sühnung in ihm nicht enthalten ist...“ Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* II S. 46 f. Das ist irdisch polemisch gemeint und auf die griechischen Väter allgemein bezogen, nicht speziell auf Athanasius. Der Gegensatz naturhaft-sittlich scheint mir ganz ungeeignet, das durch Christus wirkte Heil im Blick auf den Menschen zu beschreiben. Gerade bei Athanasius schließt die Erneuerung des Menschen das „Sittliche“ nicht aus, sondern betont ein, wie wieder die Vita hominis sehr deutlich lebt.

Bei Belito (103, 288 f.) und ps. Hippolyt 44) fällt das Stichwort „Sündenvergebung“ nur ein einziges Mal, offenbar als Hinweis auf die Taufe; von „Sünde“ spricht Melito über hinaus einmal im Zusammenhang der Sünde und ihrer Verbreitung („sie fielen der menschlichen Sünde zum Raube“, 50, 358; Zusammenhang von Sünde und Tod 54 f., 395 ff.). ps. Hippolyt wieder dürfte der „Fall“, den einmal antithetisch der Auferstehung gegenübergestellt (c. 1), der Sündenfall sein; Vergänglichkeit und Sünde sind hier noch viel enger zusammen gesehen als bei Athanasius.

²⁹ dagegen verbindet Athanasius wie einst Justin dial. 87—88 und Irenäus, adv. haer. III 9, 3; 17, 1—4 u. a. unsere Taufe mit der Taufe Jesu im Jordan, c. Ar. I 47.

³⁰ Eine kurze, schöne Zusammenfassung bei C. Andresen, Art. „Erlösung“ in RAC 6 (1964), Stuttgart 1966, Sp. 189—195; im übrigen vgl. die gründliche und schöne Dissertation von J. Roldanus (s. Anm. 15), weiter E. P. Meijering, *Orthodoxy and Platonism in Athanasius*, Leiden 1968, und A. M. Aagaard, *Christus wurde Mensch, um alles Menschliche zu überwinden*. Athanasius c. Ar. III 33. Versuch einer Interpretation. In: *Studia Theologica* 21, 1967, S. 164—182.

³¹ Daß de inc. die nach 323 geschriebene Theophrast Eusebs voraussetzt und benutzt, wird heute oft angenommen — was nicht ohne Bedeutung für die Datierung der athanasianischen Schrift ist; daß Athanasius zumindest seit den Arianerreden Markell aufnimmt, hat M. Tetz in einer schönen, gelehrten Arbeit gezeigt: *Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I.* = ZKG 75, 1964, S. 217—270; wie kompliziert die Traditionsverhältnisse hier liegen können, ergibt die Fortsetzung: M. Tetz, *Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra II* = ZKG 79, 1968, S. 3—42.

³² Hierher gehörte dann auch die vielverhandelte Frage nach dem Verhältnis von „biblischem“ und „griechischem“ Denken bei Athanasius im Rahmen des Gesamtthemas „Hellenisierung des Evangeliums“ in der alten griechischen Kirche. Ich kann hier nur bemerken, daß mir die Frage so, wie ich sie eben formuliert habe, noch nicht klar gestellt zu sein scheint. Das Evangelium setzt sich stets unter bestimmten, vorgegebenen Lebens- und Denktraditionen durch, sonst rief es nicht zum Glauben, sondern allein zur Unterwerfung; aber es wandelt diese vorgegebenen Überlieferungen; wie ja auch Jesus nicht Mensch schlechthin war, sondern Jude in Palästina unter den Kaisern Augustus und Tiberius, aber doch durch sein Erdenwirken, sein Kreuz und seine Auferstehung die eine Kirche aus Juden und Heiden sammelt.

³³ CSCO 150, p. 32 f. ed. Lefort; dt. Übers. Merendino S. 132.

³⁴ So scheint es mir bemerkenswert, daß auch für Anselm Reue und Buße von seiten des Menschen nicht ausreichen konnten, die Schuld zu tilgen, aber nun nicht weil die Reue den Menschen nicht wandelt, sondern weil für den Erzbischof die Werke der Buße nichts anderes sind als völliger Gehorsam, und dies ist doch die Gott sowieso und in jedem Fall geschuldete Haltung. Also kann Buße von sich aus nicht Genußnahme bewirken (I 20).

³⁵ So eine deutsche Fassung (Otto Riethmüller, gest. 1938) des Hymnus „*Vexilla regis prodeunt, fulget crucis mysterium...*“ des Venantius Fortunatus, der dies und andere Lieder zum Preis des Kreuzes im Kloster „Vom heiligem Kreuz“ in Poitiers am Ausgang des 6. Jhs in merowingischer Zeit dichtete. Als Hymnen für die Mette und Vesper in der Passionszeit blieben sie dem ganzen Mittelalter geläufig.

³⁶ Als beliebig herausgegriffene Beispiele nenne ich nur eine warägische Prunkart aus Simbirsk, die neben einem Kreuz die Inschrift trägt: „Jesus Christus Siegel“ (P. Paulsen, *Axt und Kreuz in Nord- und Osteuropa*, 1956, S. 276 ff.) einerseits, die Einbindung eines Kreuznagels in die heilige Lanze andererseits, die dieses siegbringende Herrschaftszeichen aus den Klein-

odien des alten deutschen Reiches eindeutig zur Kreuzreliquie machte (P. Paulsen, Flügellanz. In: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 3, 1969, S. 289—312) — mit dieser Lanze wurde bereits die Schlacht auf dem Lechfeld 955 gegen die Ungarn gewonnen.

³⁷ FERIA sexta in Parasceve, sermo II (Quaracchi-Ausgabe Bd. IX, p. 263), zitiert nach E. Gilson, Die Philosophie des hl. Bonaventura, 2. dt. Aufl. 1960, S. 560.

³⁸ In v. I 16 seines Kreuzes-Hymnus „Recordare sanctae crucis“, der auch (II 17) den Vers enthält: „Mann am Kreuz... mit Dir will ich Wunden tragen, Dich am Kreuze zu empfangen, ist mein Wunsch.“ Es geht im Leiden also um die Christusgemeinschaft.

³⁹ Zitiert aus der „Zwölf-Meister-Lehre“ des 14./15. Jh. nach A. Auer, Leidenstheologie des Mittelalters. Salzburg 1947, S. 72.

⁴⁰ Ein lateinisches Kreuzzugslied aus den Carmina Burana „Quod spiritu David praecinit“, das im 12. Jh. in Bayern entstanden sein mag, schaut das Kreuz und anscheinend auch die Auferstehung Christi ganz eng mit dem Verlust des heiligen Grabes an die Heiden und seine Wiedereroberung durch die Christen zusammen. Hiermit läßt sich dann das Thema der Sündenvergebung sehr direkt verbinden: Der Herr hat nur deshalb den Verlust Jerusalems zugestimmt, um uns so die Möglichkeit zu geben, durch die Kreuzfahrt unsere Sünden zu tilgen — sonst hätte er ja menschlicher Hilfe nicht bedurft, um die heilige Stadt zu befreien. Im Umkreis der „Zwölf-Meister-Lehre“ findet sich dann dagegen die Sentenz: „Sich überwinden und bei Nacht zum Gebet aufstehen ist besser, als am Kreuzzug teilnehmen“ (Auer S. 75).

⁴¹ Auer S. 75.

⁴² M. Elze, Züge spätmittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit in Luthers Theologie = ZThK 62, 1965, S. 381—402; ders., Das Verständnis der Passion Jesu im ausgehenden Mittelalter und bei Luther = Geist und Geschichte der Reformation. Festschr. H. Rückert, Berlin 1966, S. 127—151. — Für die Funktion dieser Literaturangaben gilt Entsprechendes, wie ich es in Anm. 6 im Blick auf Athanasius geschrieben habe.

⁴³ Über das Verhältnis der Theologie des jungen Luthers zu der des späteren Reformators besteht in der Forschung keine Einmütigkeit. Ich teile die Ansicht, daß Luther seine reformatorische Überzeugung erst während des Ablaßstreites deutlich formuliert hat; zum Thema vgl. den Forschungsüberblick: Der Durchbruch der reformatorischen Erkenntnis bei Luther, hrsg. v. B. Lohse, Darmstadt 1968. An Literatur zur Christologie Luthers sei genannt: E. Wolf, Die Christusverkündigung bei Luther (1935) = Peregrinatio I, München 1954, S. 30—80; H. Iwand, Rechtfertigungslehre und Christusglaube (1930), Darmstadt 1961², E. Seeberg, Luthers Theologie II. Christus, Wirklichkeit und Urbild (1937), Darmstadt 1969²; G. Müller, Luthers Christusverständnis = Jesus Christus. Der Wandel des Christusverständnisses vom Urchristentum bis zur Gegenwart, Marburg 1963, S. 41—57.

⁴⁴ W. v. Loewenich, Luthers Theologia Crucis (1929), Witten 1967⁵.

⁴⁵ Lat. Text WA I, S. 238, 14 f.; Cl I, S. 9, 16 f. — Lateinische Texte Luthers gebe ich in der Regel in deutscher Übersetzung, oft in Anlehnung an die Münchner Luther-Ausgabe, Mün-

verständnis = Jesus Christus. Der Wandel 1948—1963³, ohne dies jeweils eigens vermerken.

⁴⁶ „Gebissen“; dies offenbar formelhafte „mortem momordit“ findet sich von 1509 an Luther immer wieder; der Ausdruck knüpft Hos. 13, 14 in der Vulgata an.

⁴⁷ WA 56, S. 392, 7 f.

⁴⁸ S. 392, 28 ff.

⁴⁹ Die Bedeutung der Anfechtung für Luther ist bekannt; vgl. dazu E. Wolf, Staupitz Luther. 1927; E. Vogelsang, Der angefochtene Christus bei Luther. Berlin — Leipzig 1919; W. Pannenberg, Der Einfluß der Anfechtungsfahrt auf den Prädestinationsbegriff Luthers, KuD 3, 1957, S. 109—139.

⁵⁰ Derartige alttestamentliche Zitate hat Luther immer geliebt und für die Deutung Christusgeschehens wie der Rechtfertigung herangezogen; vgl. E. Kutsch, Deus humilatus exaltat. Zu Luthers Übersetzung von Psalm 21 und Psalm 18, 36 = ZThK 61, 1964, S. 192—200.

⁵¹ WA 1, S. 112, 30 f.; Cl 5, S. 421, 8 f.

⁵² So wird man den in der Formulierung, aber nicht inhaltlich, These 92 parallelen Nachsatz zu These 3 verstehen können.

⁵³ Z.B. Resolutiones disput. de indulg. v. 2 zu These 4: „Wenn das ganze Leben eine immerwährende Buße und ein Kreuz Christi ist.“ WA 1, S. 533, 34 f., Cl 1, S. 26, 31 f.

⁵⁴ WA 1, S. 534, 16 f. und 11 f.; Cl 1, S. 12 f. und 6 f.

⁵⁵ Karl Barth, Die kirchliche Dogmatik IV. Zürich 1953, S. 858; dagegen z. B. B. Lohse, Luthers Christologie im Ablaßstreit = Luther-Jahrbuch 27, 1960, S. 51—63.

⁵⁶ Das ist vor allem von E. Vogelsang, Anfänge von Luthers Christologie nach der ersten Psalmenvorlesung, Berlin — Leipzig 1919, herausgestellt worden.

⁵⁷ So in den ganz frühen (1509/10) Randbemerkungen zu Augustin, de trin. IV 3 (WA 1, S. 18, 19 f.; Cl 5, S. 3, 30 ff.); in der Römerbriefvorlesung hat Luther diesen Augustin-Text (Röm. 6, 3 wieder herangezogen und mit dem gleichen Begriffspaar gearbeitet (WA 56, S. 23 ff.; Cl 5, S. 252, 27 ff.). Zum ganzen vgl. E. Iserloh, Sacramentum et exemplum — augustinisches Thema lutherischer Theologie, Reformata reformanda. Festschr. H. Jedin, Freiburg 1965, S. 247—264; M. Elze, Verständnis der Passion Jesu (Anm. 42), S. 148—153.

⁵⁸ Es handelt sich hier vor allem um die Bewertung des tropologischen Schriftsinns; das vor allem von Vogelsang (Anm. 56) herausgearbeitet worden; vgl. dazu G. Ebeling, Die Anfänge von Luthers Hermeneutik = ZThK 1951, S. 172—229.

⁵⁹ Schon Karl Holl hat festgestellt, daß Luther der Tod mit der Auferstehung Christi ganz eng zusammengehört. „Damit berichtet die Einseitigkeit, der die abendländische Theologie seit Anselm verfallen war und der die spätere lutherische Theologie unter Melancthon Einfluß wieder verfiel, sofern sie den Christ als die Heilstatsache betrachteten, erneuert die paulinische Anschauung, nach der Tod und Auferstehung ein unteilbares Ganzes bilden. Das Bedeutsame liegt für ihn gerade darin, daß der Tod Christi, die Vollstreckung des Zornesgerichts, noch nicht das letzte Wort“ (Continued on p. 48)

The Holy Scripture in Lithuanian

Further to the History of Biblical Textology

In 1973 the Roman Catholic Episcopate published the New Testament and Psalter in Lithuanian: *Sventasis Štas. Naujasis Testamentas*. Vilnius-Kaunas, 1972. 640 pp. *Sventasis Raštas. Almynas*. Vilnius-Kaunas, 1973. 640 pp.¹ This new translation of the Scriptures into modern Lithuanian is proved by the signatures of the Bishop of Kaunas Dr. Juozas Matulaitis-Labukas and by the head of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vilnius Monsignor Česlovas Krivaitis. Before describing this new translation, let us take a closer look at certain underlying theological and historical factors which will help us to understand the complex textological problems involved. The most suitable method here seems to be to show them in a general form in their historical perspective, against which background we shall obtain a clear view of the development of the sacred text on its way to becoming the property of the multilingual body that is the Christian Church.

From the very beginning of her existence the Church has had her being in a multilingual milieu and the problem of translating the Holy Scriptures arose from the outset. We know that all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of St. Matthew's Gospel,² were originally written in the Koine Greek, widely spoken throughout the Hellenistic-Roman world. The current knowledge of this language notwithstanding, it was evident right from the start that not all Christians would be able to understand the sacred Books of the New Testament in this language, and the desire for the blessed opportunity to read and assimilate "the words of eternal life"—the divinely revealed Law of the Gospel—each people in their own familiar, native language, was at the

root of the great undertaking of translating the Holy Bible into other languages and dialects of the world. The whole history of the sacred text of the New Testament bears witness to this unbroken progress in its propagation and preservation up till our own time by means of translations.

Without dwelling on the history of the New Testament text as a whole, we will merely note that in the process of translation some versions were made directly from the original whereas others were made indirectly, i. e. were translations of translations. For this reason their qualitative value in the sense of fidelity to the original is very varied. The most important single factor in the task of translation has always been and still is, the choice of the first source from among existing texts. The history of the New Testament text bears eloquent witness to the fact that New Testament textual criticism has made many advances over the last century. At present about five thousand ancient codexes of the New Testament³ are known to scholars. The modern printed Greek text of the New Testament is outstanding, both thanks to the number of manuscripts consulted and to the chronological closeness of the earliest of these to the original and to the number of translations, the long tradition of textological criticism and the abundance of detailed works on this subject. Nevertheless, all these achievements should be examined from the point of view of the correspondence between their spirit and the universal truth abiding in the Church of Christ that is the essential condition of all acceptable textological interpretation of the existing texts of Holy Writ.

As an example, we may point to the following fact. At present there exist three types of New Testament text in

the modern world which are used in the exposition of doctrinal and liturgical practice within the Christian Church.

From the most ancient times, the Orthodox East has accepted the Constantinople or Byzantine Church text, which has served as the original for all the translations of the Orthodox Eastern Churches including the Slavonic translations.

From the time of the Council of Trent (1546) the Catholic West has officially accepted the authenticity of the Latin text called the Vulgate, based on the translation of St. Jerome.

Protestants prefer a Greek text compiled from critical editions of a limited number of early uncial manuscripts.

As we know, there are no essential differences between the text accepted by the Orthodox East and the Latin Vulgate. As for the text of the critical editions accepted comparatively recently by various Protestant communities here the picture is somewhat different. The majority of such editions offer a text that differs considerably from the traditional versions of the Scriptures that have been accepted for Church usage.

If we are to remember that the fundamental text of the translations always has a real significance in the confessional aspect, it will be easier to point out the general methodological principles of the Orthodox and the Catholics which, basically, can be reduced to insistence upon three aspects of textual analysis: the inner content of the text (the truths of the revelation and the events of sacred history); the outward linguistic form (literary genre and style); and the traditional form of ecclesiastical usage.⁴

The content of Holy Writ is, together with the revealed truths, always unchanging, even as the divine revelation itself is not subject to change. When, however, we pause to dwell on the actual concept "text," we cannot distinguish it from the laws of that historical form which must inevitably reflect the individual peculiarities of this or that language, of the author's style, and also of the ways in which the Holy Scriptures were used and propagated. On this level the text cannot

but reflect the obvious influence of changing historical conditions. The history of the preservation of Holy Writ amongst different peoples is the history of how carefully the Church preserved a text corresponding to Apostolic tradition in her liturgical practice and how severely she reacted to all changes which, even unintentionally, might savour of heresy. Nevertheless, in spite of all the measures to preserve the purity of the text there has never been a time when the thought of the Church has not been directed to the study and commenting of Holy Writ in order to increase the understanding of believers.

Against what criterion, then, was the correctness of this understanding to be measured? It was to be defined by Church life. It was the life of the Church itself which gave the stimulus for all this effort to make the Holy Scriptures more available and understandable to contemporary Christians chiefly by means of translations. Here we are evidently approaching the essence of the problem of the relationship between the content and form of the Holy Scriptures which was the starting-point of the present discussion.

There is no need to demonstrate the existence of this problem which is clearly to be perceived throughout the history of the Christian Church. In the course of this history there has been much evidence that the linguistic form of the Holy Scriptures is not always suited to the requirements of the preacher who has to elucidate Christian doctrines. This lack of correspondence has taken different forms at different times. Often the language in which the text was originally written was altogether distinct from the language in which the Christian community spoke and thought. At best the language of Holy Writ, at one time native and understandable, had gradually come to differ from the spoken tongue as a result of the natural development of the latter. Such lack of correspondence have always been overcome, as the history of the text shows by new translations or by correction of the old, and also by commentaries and by live preaching. It is thanks to successive translations that several and

languages have been preserved at all. Translations that have served to spread the Gospel have thus also fulfilled a general historic and cultural function. The commentaries, too, have preserved our day not only the teaching of the Church, but also the historic background against which they were written. The relationship between the content of the Holy Scriptures and their form is its root in the principle of the Gospel message itself: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. . .* (Mt. 28. 19-20), and corresponds to the highest spiritual needs of the Church of Christ. Stubborn insistence on preserving the sacred text in a form that has become incomprehensible for the majority has always, like any other stagnation in ecclesiastical life, led to the most regrettable results: the Gospel became closed to all very people to whom it was supposed to be proclaiming the "glad tidings." This was a loss that cannot be made up for by any amount of commentary or preaching in the vernacular. It is always the Christian life and the Church herself who suffered most from this situation.

From 1893 onwards the Roman Catholic attitude to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures has found expression in three papal encyclicals containing detailed instructions to scholars, to the priesthood as to the laity.⁵ At the Second Vatican Council the attitude towards new translations of the Holy Scriptures into national languages from the original texts found expression in the dogmatic Constitution "On Divine Revelation," where we read that it is necessary that Christians should be given free access to the Holy Scriptures. For this reason the Church has always accepted as her own the oldest Greek translation of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint; she has always rejected the other Eastern and Latin translations, particularly those known as the Vulgate. However, the document continues, since the Word of God should at all times be available to people in an accessible form, the Church has

taken motherly care to provide suitable and reliable translations in various languages, preferably from the original texts of the Holy Scriptures.⁶

Passing now to a closer assessment of the new publication under review, we must first mention with warmest approbation the great amount of sheer hard work that the Catholics of Lithuania have put into their new translation of the New Testament and the Psalter.

The history of printed Lithuanian Roman Catholic translations of the Bible goes back to 1599 when the canon, N. Dauksza, published the "Postilla," a collection of readings from the Gospel with homilies for every Sunday and Feastday of the Church year. In the 18th and 19th centuries there have been several publications of readings from the Gospel without homilies.⁷ Bishop Juozas Arnulfas Gedraitis of Zhemaite was the first of the Lithuanian Catholics to translate and publish the New Testament in 1816 and Bishop Mateus Valanchus published a translation of the Psalter in 1869. A full translation of the Bible into Lithuanian was published by Lithuanian Lutherans in 1735 in Königsberg. A full translation of all the Bible into Lithuanian made by Roman Catholics was not completed and published until the edition of 1911-1937. This was a translation by Archbishop and Metropolitan Juozas Skvirjatskas, printed in Kaunas in 6 large volumes together with the Latin text of the Vulgate and a lengthy commentary. This translation was well up to the bibliographical and literary requirements of the time. The New Testament, in a similar translation, had been published somewhat earlier, in 1906, and reissued in 1922, 1936 and 1939.

The present edition of the New Testament and the Psalter, 1972-1973, provides an answer to the liturgical reform foreseen by the Second Vatican Council. Modern requirements for the translation of liturgic and biblical texts were taken into account during its preparation as was the considerable development of literary Lithuanian which has taken place over the last few decades and the publication is thus a very important event in the life of the Roman Catholic Church in

Lithuania. This new edition is distinguished from its predecessors by the fact that, until the mid-20th century, Roman Catholics of various countries, including Lithuania, had usually translated the Holy Scriptures into their own language from the official Latin translation of the Vulgate and only over the last ten years has there been any trend towards translation from the original languages.

At the basis of this new translation of the New Testament into modern Lithuanian is the ancient Greek text.⁸ In comparison with its predecessors, therefore, this translation conveys certain shades of meaning that have hitherto been lacking. Acting on instructions, the translators and editors took as their guiding principle on this work not the principle of literal word-for-word translation, but the idea of dynamic equivalents of thought. In cases when they failed to find equivalent words in modern Lithuanian they translated descriptively using several words for one of the original. The translator and editors of the New Testament made every effort to "give the truest possible rendering of the thoughts, images and sentiments of the original text,"⁹ which is of course not to be achieved by simple word-for-word translation. In cases where a literal translation of any word or phrase might conjure up quite the opposite associations in the mind of the reader or suggest something far from the sense of the original, such literal translation can only be considered as inexact translation. Thus, for instance, in Christ's answers to Caiaphas and Pilate (*Thou hast said, Thou sayest* (Mt. 26. 64; Jn. 18. 37) the modern reader is liable to understand the answer as an *evasion*, whereas in fact in the original it is to be understood as a *confirmation* of the previous statement. In the new edition these phrases are translated: "It is even as thou hast said," "Thou sayest true." Such customary expressions of the Greek language as "man-king," "and answering said," "departing went" are translated directly as "King" (as in the Russian translation), "answered," "went away." Constantly repeated words such as "said" are translated more variously: "said" or "answered"

or "asked." Pronouns such as "He" "they" are sometimes replaced proper nouns and nouns such as "Jesus," "the disciples" in cases where confusion or ambiguity is likely to arise from the proximity of other subjects or pronouns referring to different people.

However, stylistic features peculiar to certain phrases and expressions have been preserved, such as, for instance, the frequent changes from the historical present to the past tense in St. Mark and a certain roughness of syntax (for instance Mark 5. 13), or, on the contrary, the spirituality and emotional, lyrical quality of certain chapters from St. John's Gospel and First Epistle which are rhythmically translated and printed as blank verse.

In the introduction to the edition under review it has been emphasized that in translation there should be a tendency to "improve the style of the original." In all cases the stylistic characteristic of the various authors has been carefully preserved.

The commentary to this translation satisfies the requirements of modern biblical scholarship both from the historic-exegetic and the doctrinal point of view. The commentary is given in the form of brief footnotes but is rich in historical data and in explanations of the realia of New Testament times. It also points out some of the more important variant readings of the text. The dogmatic explanations are not frequent and usually accompany some equivalent sayings in the New Testament. For instance, on the subject of the dogma of the Eternal Virginity of the Mother of God, the words of Mt. 13. 55-56 about "the Lord's brothers" are compared to Mt. 27. 56 and Mt. 15. 40 where it is clearly stated that these "brothers" were not the children of the Mother of Jesus.¹⁰ The spirit of polemics is not present in the commentaries and only positive explanations are given. For instance, in commenting Mt. 5. 32 (on divorce) the Roman Catholic Church's understanding of the passage is briefly outlined, as are points of view of other Churches, without insistence on the hegemony of any one confessional opinion.

Apart from commentaries in the form of footnotes there is an introductory

le to each book of the New Testament which provides information in accordance with all the data available from modern biblical scholarship. Thus, certain questions which have not finally settled by research such as the dating of the Gospels, the usual term assumption of the primacy of Mark (60-61 or 64-70 AD) is connected with; then follows St. Matthew (70 or 75-80 AD), then St. Luke (63 or 75-80 AD), with the assumption that there was a "Q" source, here identified with the Greco-Aramaic "Oracles" of St. Matthew (60 AD), of which we know from the Acts of Hierapolis. *The Acts of the Apostles* is ascribed alternatively to the years 61-63 AD and 75-80 AD, the latter date being considered the more probable. The traditional argument in favour of St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts having been written in 61-64 AD is based on the fact that the Acts contain no mention of St. Paul's death is not considered conclusive. St. Paul is addressed only as the indirect author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (in the New Testament liturgy this Epistle is quoted without reference to the author). The possibility of a second century dating of Peter II is admitted. With regard to the other New Testament books no opinions differing from those traditionally accepted are advanced. In the introductions and chronological tables the dates accepted as being most probable for the Nativity and the birth of Jesus Christ are, respectively, year 7 or 6 BC and April 7 of the year 30 AD. The date of the Nativity is determined by the date of Herod the Great's death (4 BC) and the events described in Mt. 2. 16 and the death of Christ—by the Jewish Passover (the first day of the month of Nisan) falling on a Saturday (cf. Jn. 19. 31), which occurred on April 8, 30.

In the process of work on translation comparisons were made with the latest translations from the original into French, Italian, German, English and Polish and with the Russian 1968 edition.

In the introductory sections to the books of the New Testament and in the commentaries use is made of the works of such distinguished Western Catholic

and Protestant biblical scholars as A. Wickenhauser, B. Rigo, G. M. Mackenzie, M. Zerwik, R. Bultmann, G. Kümmel and others. The basic correlative text in all cases where any lack of clarity was felt in the process of translation was that of the Jerusalem edition of the Bible in French.¹¹ All parallel passages indicated in the new translation are based on this edition.

With regard to the new translation of the Psalter, it is sufficient to say as a matter of information that this book was translated not from the original but from the corrected Vatican Latin text of the New Vulgate published in 1969. Here, too, the translator has been guided by the principle of dynamic equivalent of thought rather than that of literal translation, but this work differs from the New Testament in that the translator has consciously permitted himself a degree of poetic licence¹² which seemed called for by the literary genre of the psalms considered as sacred songs. The Psalter in this new edition is translated in a free metrical form reminiscent of *vers libre*.

Here it should be noted that specialists in Lithuanian philology emphasize the literary merit of both translations.

It is essential that we should say a few words more about both translators and editors who have undertaken this great and responsible work. The New Testament was translated from the Greek by Father Česlovas Kavaljauskas. His work was edited by the vice-principal of the Roman Catholic Theological Seminary of Kaunas, the Licentiate of Theology Father Vatslovas Aljulis. The Psalter was translated by Father Antanas Lesis and edited by Fathers Česlovas Kavaljauskas and Vatslovas Aljulis. The arbiter in this work on translation was Professor Juozas Griškaitis, a Doctor of Divinity, also in holy orders. Specialists in philology acted as consultants.

The outward appearance of both volumes—the New Testament and the Psalter—is similar: clear print with helpful headings and subheadings, with a brief introduction, commentary and tables. Over and above this the New Testament contains two maps and general and liturgical indices, whereas the Psalter has only a liturgical index

of the proper readings from the Psalms according to the reformed Roman horologion of 1972. The edition is printed on good paper and attractively bound with gold lettering.

The new Lithuanian translation of the New Testament is the first Lithuanian ecumenical translation. Roman Catholic theologians were consulted and worked in cooperation with a Lutheran adviser, the Primate of the Lutheran Church in Lithuania Sinjoras Jonas Kalvanas. The edition is used by Catholics, Lutherans and members of the Reformed Church alike.

This Lithuanian translation of the New Testament received a favourable assessment from Pope Paul VI and has been approved for use in public services by the Vatican Congregation on Divine Worship.

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NOTES

¹ The Holy Scriptures. The New Testament. Vilnius-Kaunas, 1972, 640 pp.

The Holy Scriptures. The Psalter. Vilnius-Kaunas, 1973, 264 pp.

² According to Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a disciple of St. John the Divine, St. Matthew wrote down the teaching and life of Jesus Christ in the Hebrew or, to be more precise, the Aramaic tongue (cf. Eusebius. Church History, III, 39; St. Irenaeus. Contra Haereses, III, 1). The original Aramaic text of St. Matthew's Gospel has been lost. We have only a very early Greek translation.

³ About 5000 manuscript copies of the Old Testament (76 papyruses; 250 uncial manuscripts; 2,646 italic manuscripts; 1997 lectionary, i. e. liturgical copies) are known to biblical scholars.

These manuscripts, preserved in the libraries, museums and archives of various countries throughout the world, are available to specialists. They are catalogued in critical editions of the Greek text of the New Testament.

⁴ In the encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Pope Pius XII called for more intensive and careful study of the Bible. In the encyclical we are told that the primary Author of the Bible is God Himself but that, having admitted the cooperation of man, He respected not only man's powers of reason and free nature, but also the individual traits of his personality: talent, temperament, education, culture. In this way the Bible, while it is a true reflection of Divine thought, still bears the stamp of the time and place in which the various books were written. That is why the true meaning of Holy Writ is accessible only if the literary genre of each sacred book is first determined and then taken into account (cf. Enrico Galbiati, Alessandro Piazza. Mieux comprendre la Bible et ses passages difficiles. Traduit de l'italien par Henriette de Ganay (Paris, 1956).

⁵ The encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII *Providentis-*

simus Deus (1893) and of Pope Benedict XV *Spiritus Paraclitus* (1920) and of Pope Pius XII *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) offer a firm directive for reading and study of Holy Writ. The encyclical and all the other most important documents relating to Holy Writ are collected in a special symposium *Enchiridion Biblicum* issued by the Pontifical Biblical Commission in Rome founded by Pope X in 1902.

The most characteristic features of these encyclicals is the encouragement of daily Bible reading for the laity and for the exegetes—the requirement that they should make full use of all modern scientific methods of research as well as take account the tradition of the Church.

⁶ The Second Vatican Council. The Dogmatic Constitution "On Divine Revelation," Chapter par. 22, p. 16. Vatican, 1967.

⁷ In 1711, 1743, 1756, 1760, 1799, 1803, 1820, 1841, 1848, 1856, 1858.

⁸ Here is a list of the most important editions of the New Testament text used in work on new translation into Lithuanian:

Novum Testamentum graece et latine. Editio A. Merk, S. I. Romae, 1964.

Novum Testamentum graece. Novis curis elaboravit Erwin Nestle et Kurt Aland. United Bible Societies. London, 1967.

Novum Testamentum. Evangelia, IV. (Editio Pontificia Commissio pro Nova Vulgata Bibliographica Editione. Typus Polyglottis Vaticanus, 1970.

Novum Testamentum. Epistolae S. Pauli Apostoli et Catholicae. (Editio Pontificia Commissio pro Nova Vulgata Bibliographica Editione. Typus Polyglottis Vaticanus, 1970..

La Sainte Bible, traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem, Paris, 1961.

La Sacra Biblia, tradotta dai testi originali e con la cura del Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Roma, 1963.

Tetrapla, 1964.

Das Neue Testament. Berlin, 1967.

W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. Cambridge-Cambridge, 1964.

The Analytical Greek Lexicon. Samuel Bagin and Sons Limited. London.

The New Testament from 26 Translations. Curtis Vaughan. London, 1967.

M. Zerwick. Analysis Philologica Novi Testamenti Graeci. Romae, 1966.

⁹ The introduction to the new translation.

¹⁰ There is a difference of opinion about the brothers of the Lord. In the Tradition of the Eastern Church it is told that James and Jude, writers of the Epistles and the children of Joseph the Betrothed by his first wife, were not numbered among the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ. In the tradition of the Western Church these brothers of the Lord have always been identified with James and Jude from among the twelve Apostles.

Contemporary Catholic exegetes and the Lithuanian commentators with them, incline to the opinion that James and Jude, the authors of the Epistles, were the step-brothers of Jesus Christ, were not numbered among the Twelve. The thought of St. Joseph's second marriage is widely current in the Catholic Church.

¹¹ La "Bible de l'Jerusalem," Paris, 1961.

¹² The introduction to the new translation



Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations: That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ: Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory: Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls [1 Pet. I. 3-9].

